RECENT EUROPEAN HISTORY

FELLOWS

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THE BERLIN CONGRESS.—SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS.

RECENT EUROPEAN HISTORY

1789-1900

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE.

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter I. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789, TO FIRST REPUBLIC, 1792.

Section I. THE STATES-GENERAL AND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 13
Section II. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 29

Chapter II. THE REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE.

Section I. THE PERIOD OF THE CONVENTION, 1792–1795 . . 46
Section II. THE DIRECTORY, 1795–1799 89
Section III. THE CONSULATE 113
Section IV. THE EMPIRE, 1804–1815 118
Section V. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND ITS WORK, 1814–1815 137

Chapter III. FROM THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO THROUGH THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD OF 1848.

Section I. FRANCE FROM THE RESTORATION IN 1814 TO THE REVOLUTION OF JULY, 1830 146
Section II. FRANCE UNDER THE "MONARCHY OF JULY," 1830–1848 162
Section III. GERMANY, 1814–1848 170
Section IV. ENGLAND AFTER THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO . . 187
Section V. ITALY, 1814–1848 205
Section VI. SPAIN, 1809–1843 223

Chapter IV. PERIOD OF GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF NATIONALITY, 1848–1870.

Section I. FROM THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE SECOND EMPIRE, 1848–1870 236

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PAGE.

Section II. AUSTRIA, 1848–1867 259
Section III. GERMANY, 1848–1871 269
Section IV. ITALY, 1848–1867 281
Section V. GREAT BRITAIN BEFORE THE SECOND REFORM BILL 292

Chapter V. DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LIFE.

Section I. FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC, 1870–1900 . 313
Section II. THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE, 1871–1900 331
Section III. GREAT BRITAIN, 1867–1900 352
Section IV. RUSSIA, 1815–1900 364
Section V. ITALY, 1870-1900 379
Section VI. SPAIN, 1843–1900 387
Section VII. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1867–1900 397

Chapter VI. THE SMALLER EUROPEAN NATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Section I. THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE BALKAN STATES 405
Section II. NORWAY AND SWEDEN 410
Section III. DENMARK 414
Section IV. THE NETHERLANDS (HOLLAND), 1814–1900 . . . 417
Section V. BELGIUM, 1830–1900 421
Section VI. GREECE, 1821–1900 424
Section VII. SWITZERLAND 431
Section VIII. PORTUGAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1807–1900 435

PREFACE.

A knowledge of the movement toward constitutional government during the nineteenth century is essential to every educated person. Though this movement began with the French Revolution in 1789, the distinct recognition of popular rights by constitutional enactment falls chiefly within the nineteenth century. Revolutions and wars since 1789 have resulted in increased rights to some classes, and in many cases to whole nations. Since the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871, there has been no war between the great European nations, and their growth and development during this period need especially to be emphasized.

Materials and books for the study of the French Revolution are perhaps more numerous than for any other period in the world's history. Indeed they are too numerous for the ordinary student and reader. Good books, however, on the nineteenth century since the fall of Napoleon are few, and there is no one book which includes the period from 1870 to 1900 with an outline of the earlier part of the century.

Secondary schools offer very little history subsequent to the French Revolution, and the nineteenth century has generally been reserved for the study of the upper classes in college or for graduate work. As only a small minority of students ever have the opportunity to study this period, it was thought that a single book, which should treat the whole

of the constitutional and modern nation-building period in a way suited to secondary schools and the earlier college years would also prove useful to the general reader of limited time.

No attempt has been made to give details of battles or wars. These in themselves are of little interest, except to the military student, while their causes, general character, and political results are of universal importance.

Prominence has been given to England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Spain. Russia has been treated but briefly, as her internal political life is but slightly developed or known. All of the smaller nations have been touched upon.

Only the most important dates have been inserted in the text, but the chronology at the end of the book will supply all that may be desired in this line.

Thanks are due to Prof. Alexander Smith of the University of Chicago, for valuable advice and suggestion in the preparation of the book, to Mr. Ralph K. Jones, librarian of the University of Maine, for careful reading of the proof, and to Mr. Arthur S. Libby, a graduate student of the University of Maine, for the preparation of the index.

G. E. F.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MAINE,
November, 1902.

MODERN HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1770 two royal children were married. They were Marie Antoinette, daughter of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and Louis, grandson of Louis XV, King of France. The princess was but fifteen years of age and her husband but a year older. Little did this young couple appreciate the importance of their position as future king and queen of France. To Marie Antoinette her position as wife of the heir to the throne simply gave the opportunity to gratify, unstinted, her taste for pleasure and excitement, while Louis seemed to have no interest but hunting and working as amateur mechanic in his little shop in the palace.

Four years of this drifting, with no preparation for future responsibility, were ended by the death of King Louis XV. Then began the reign which was to be filled with royal blunders and end as a tragedy.

Importance of finance minister.

Under the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV government had become so centralized that nearly all the domestic affairs of France were managed by a minister of finance. His business was primarily to see that enough money

was raised by taxation to satisfy the necessities of the state, the luxurious tastes of the royal family and their friends, and the greed of the parasites of the court.

Although Louis XVI was far superior in personal character to his predecessor, and realized in a vague way that reforms were necessary, he possessed neither the energy nor the decision to inaugurate them. Indecision in a ruler and the consequent distrust of him are certain to lead to disturbance among his people. Hence the king's frequent changes in his ministry, and the failure of the various plans for raising money, destroyed the popular confidence which his subjects had at first accorded him.

It seemed impossible for the nation to comply with the demands made upon it. Burdensome taxes and church dues had brought the farmers and laborers to a degree of suffering which we in this day can scarcely understand. The nobles and higher clergy had been granted special privileges and exemptions from taxation by former kings. The burdens had thus been left to fall the heavier on the already crushed common people. They suffered in comparative silence until the promise of the States-General suggested the possibility of lessening their woes.

Financial distress.

The valuable reforms of the French Revolution might have been deferred for several decades and perhaps accomplished without much bloodshed had the king not made a series of mistakes in the first fifteen years of his reign. But these very blunders gave the people a

chance to see that better conditions were possible, and such was the pressure of sudden discontent that no moderate reforms could satisfy them, and revolution followed as inevitable. While we pity Louis XVI for his misfortunes, we cannot fail to see that had he been really kingly in character and resolution, his own troubles and those of the whole nation might have been greatly lessened. No one who now reads of the conditions which prevailed in France in 1789 can fail to conclude that a serious crisis was impending. Indeed, Arthur Young, an English gentleman who traveled extensively in France in the years 1787 to 1789, predicted revolution. But the French nation seemed unaware that the most extraordinary political changes were about to occur.

Revolution inevitable.

On coming to the throne in 1774, Louis XVI chose as prime minister, Maurepas, who was seventy-three years of age. Many offices in France were hereditary, and Maurepas had fallen heir to an office as minister of state at the age of fourteen. He lost the favor of Louis XV, and had, in consequence, been in retirement for some time. Now in his old age, placed in the position of actual director of the kingdom, he was more interested in holding favor and in being a courtier than in conducting the affairs of the kingdom in a businesslike manner. The first ministry, or cabinet, appointed by Maurepas was full of talent and good intentions, but their proposed reforms were not pleasing to the courtiers and

Maurepas, Prime Minister.

nobles, who enjoyed too well their privileges and exemptions. These ministers and their successors, one after the other, fell victims to court intrigue or to opposition and lack of support from the very man through whose influence they were appointed.

The Finance Ministers. — Turgot was the first minister of finance. This great man had in mind the very reforms which were afterwards accomplished by the Revolution. But the privileged classes would submit to none of these, and perhaps the country was not ready for reform in 1774. Turgot hoped to accustom the people to public affairs by means of provincial assemblies, and thus prepare them for the revival of the national representative body called the States-General. He would have freed agricultural laborers from forced labor of feudal nature, freed commerce from internal duties, and made clergy and nobility pay taxes in the same proportion as the "third estate." Such a man as this could not fail to gain the enmity of courtiers, so he was dismissed in 1776. After a six months' administration of finance by Clugny, an unimportant man, Necker, a Swiss banker, was appointed finance minister. Primarily chosen because it was thought that a man who had himself been successful in amassing wealth could squeeze more money from the people for the use of the court, he began by reducing expenses to conform to the income. He caused the taxes to be assessed by the provincial assemblies, and when loans became necessary he published the state

Turgot.

Necker.

accounts, as it seemed to him proper that lenders should know the condition of the treasury. His economies displeased the pleasure seekers about the palace; the importance given provincial assemblies displeased the legal bodies called *parlements;* his success with finance aroused the jealousy of the other ministers. The opposition aroused by these reforms combined led to his dismissal in 1781.

The information that all France now had about state affairs through Necker's publication of the accounts made impossible a return to the old absolute government. When Maurepas died (1781) no prime minister was appointed to replace him, and Queen Marie Antoinette became the king's chief adviser. The daughter of Maria Theresa might have been expected to possess some political wisdom, but on the contrary such was her careless frivolity and ambition that she exercised the most unfortunate influence upon state affairs. Thus to the blunders of the king were added the extravagance and unwise advice of the queen, all tending to bring on the climax of disaster toward which they were unconsciously moving.

Calonne.

Calonne became minister of finance in 1783. He was in direct contrast to Necker. In place of Necker's economy, Calonne indulged in lavish expenditure. The queen, gratified by grand entertainments, and the nobles by new pensions, at once believed Calonne to be an ideal manager. Of course the credit gained by Necker's economy was soon exhausted, and

as no one would loan to the government, it became necessary to resort to taxation.

The Meeting of the Notables. — The people could pay no more, and the wealthy privileged classes were not disposed to offer any assistance. As a last resort, Calonne called a meeting of the Notables in February, 1787. This assembly, composed entirely of privileged persons, was of course unwilling to make sacrifices. A minister who had brought the kingdom to the verge of bankruptcy by extravagance could hardly expect to be maintained in power by those who would be obliged to forego the very pleasures they had enjoyed because of this mismanagement. Archbishop Brienne was one of the bitterest opponents of Calonne in the assembly, and when he was selected to succeed him he supposed he would have the support of all the Notables because they had approved his attacks on Calonne. But any minister of finance must now replenish the treasury by taxes, loans, or contributions of the privileged classes. Brienne found it no easier to use these means than any previous minister. For a little over a year he strove by various means to raise money, even resorting more than once to using the king in a *lit de justice*, that is, enforcing the registry of a royal edict in *parlement* by the presence of the king.

Brienne.

Neither taxes nor loans succeeding, as a last resource Brienne promised to have the king call the States-General, or general assembly of the nation, consisting of clergy, nobles, and third estate. This promise accom-

plished his fall. Instead of remedying the finances, he had exasperated the nation and raised rebellious feeling in various state bodies, and finally, by promising the States-General, admitted the incapacity of the government. Brienne is most blamed of all the ministers, because he was the last before the Revolution began. He inherited the faults and embarrassments of the past, and attempted to contend with difficulties which were probably, under the circumstances, insurmountable.

The States-General was the last resource of the throne, and had been demanded by various bodies and persons. Brienne fell, and Necker was recalled. He began at once to prepare for the election of deputies and the holding of the States.

Causes of General Distress. — It will be seen by what has been said that one of the chief causes leading to the Revolution was the financial distress of the entire kingdom. The distress of the king and court was because of waste and extravagance. The distress on the part of the people came about because many of the taxes were obnoxious and unfair. This was notoriously so in the case of the salt tax, called *gabelle*. Another cause was that every branch of commerce was monopolized by the privileged classes or by corporations. Offices and dignities were hereditary. Game laws were such that the peasant could not protect his crops, if a noble chose to ride over them or to allow his game birds to feed upon them. Personal liberty was always in danger

Burdensome taxes and laws.

from *lettres de cachet.** Many of the services belonging to the feudal system were still bearing heavily on the peasantry, although the protection afforded by the feudal lords in return for these services was no longer necessary, and these lords were wasting their income in extravagant living in Paris or other cities.

Social Classes and Distinctions. — Society in France was divided into classes, and so rigid were the distinctions that a change from one class to the other was well-nigh impossible. These classes were nobility, clergy, and "third estate." Those ranked as nobility numbered over two hundred thousand persons, and were the descendants of what had been the feudal aristocracy. The decay of feudalism had left the nobles still enjoying many of the privileges of their rank, while their duties were no longer performed or necessary. As the king grew stronger, and authority passed from the nobles to the king, privileges and exemptions were granted in exchange for this authority. Louis XIV had drawn to his court thousands of nobles, who, stripped of their power and wealth, were content with nominal positions in the royal household in exchange for millions in pensions. The life in and about the court was artificial and vicious. The gilded vice and scandalous immoralities of Louis XIV and Louis XV and of all around them left a terrible inheritance to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. Surrounded by

Nobility.

* Sealed letters. Warrants signed by the king, on which any individual might be arrested without being informed of his offence or of the complaint against him.

these nobles and flattering courtiers, Louis XVI was unable to bear the financial burdens of his predecessors.

The clergy formed a class of society distinct in itself. The Church had been endowed with vast wealth through gifts from pious and penitent kings and subjects. About one third of the land of France was thus in the hands of the Church, and the vast income from it was used not alone for the support of religious worship, but for the private gratification and extravagance of the higher ranks of the clerical order. Of course there were notable exceptions of pious and godly men, but great numbers of bishops and cardinals lived such lives and so wasted the church income as to be hated and despised by the people and lower clergy. The parish priests, faithful servants of the church and community, assisted the sick, buried the dead, performed marriages and baptisms and conducted the usual church services, and received for their labors sums ranging from eighty dollars to two hundred dollars a year, while their superiors wasted hundreds of thousands in the gayeties of Paris, Versailles, or provincial capitals. Church property being almost entirely exempt from taxation, little assistance came to the government from it. Occasionally the higher church officials had given what they called "voluntary contributions" to the king, in time of financial distress, but they wished it to be understood that church property and bishops' incomes were not to be taxed.

The clergy.

The great body of the nation, numbering probably

twenty-five million people, was below the two privileged classes. Among these also there were distinctions, but they were not so sharply drawn. The wealthy middle classes, composed of merchants and manufacturing and professional people, were called the *bourgeoisie*, while the peasants, the laborers, and the poor inhabitants of cities and towns were known as "the people."

Definition of the Third Estate. — The term "third estate" as applied in 1789 to the representatives of the people, to distinguish them from the nobles and clergy, referred more correctly to the *bourgeoisie* than to "the people." Though the *bourgeoisie* was despised by the powerful classes, they did not actually suffer as did the people from taxes, tithes, and feudal services. Yet no middle-class man, however educated, wealthy, or otherwise important, could associate on terms of equality with even the poorest, most degenerate, and vicious individual of noble blood.

Sad Lot of the People. — But it was the people, particularly in the country, who felt the sorest burdens from the bad social and financial conditions. Several writers of the seventeenth century have given pictures of the sad lot of the French people. One, La Bruyere, in a paragraph often quoted by more recent writers, pictures them as merely human animals who live in dens, feeding upon black bread, water, and roots. The reason for tolerating the existence of such beings is that they save other people the trouble of sowing and harvesting.

Arthur Young, who traveled in France (1787–1789) chiefly to study French methods of agriculture, has given the account most often quoted of the life of all classes just before the Revolution. He says: "The peasants are obliged to use the most clumsy tools, of ancient pattern. When crops are growing, the pigeons, rabbits, and deer, the lord's game, may injure them seriously and there is no redress, for punishment is heavy for interfering with a noble's pastime. The injury to the crops by the game is not the only one, for the noble hunter with horse and hounds may trample down the poor man's only wheat field. Nor may the poor man take game himself, or fish from the stream. Even under these hard conditions taxes increase. The agents of the king and of the church never fail to collect. The *gabelle* (salt tax) and *corvée* (road tax, paid in labor) bear especially heavy on the poor."

The Calling of the States-General. — The reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV had been more extravagant and oppressive than any preceding ones, and brought the nation nearer to the end of its resources. Nevertheless, had the clergy and nobility been willing to make some sacrifices, the reign of Louis XVI might have brought the nation back to a firmer basis, but, with the conditions as they were and the treasury in extremity, the States-General was called by the king as a last resort. The two meetings of the Notables (1787, 1788) had failed to suggest effective measures of relief, and the representatives of the three orders were summoned to assemble

at Versailles, May 1, 1789. Since 1614 no meeting of the Estates had been called, and at that time nothing was really accomplished, although the third estate had made a demand for a share in the government of the nation. This was ignored, and now, in 1789, the third estate was determined to insist upon a hearing of its complaints. Each of the localities represented in the States-General was authorized to send its list of grievances (*cahier*), together with the items of business which it wished considered. In spite of the objections of the privileged orders, the representatives of the people, about six hundred, were to be the same in number as the two other orders together.

Note the size of Poland, as compared with other states.

CHAPTER I.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 1789 TO THE FIRST REPUBLIC.

SECTION I.

The States-General and Constituent Assembly.

The Meeting of the States-General. — On the 4th of May, 1789, the States-General was opened in Versailles with imposing processions and religious ceremonies. Attention was called to the sharp line between the three orders by the costumes which were ordered to be worn. The costumes of the States-General of 1614 were reproduced. The nobility and higher orders of the clergy appeared in rich materials and costly decorations, while the third estate was forced to march behind them, in plain black.

The windows and housetops were crowded with people who had come from all parts of France to witness the opening of the body upon which so much depended for their future welfare. Signs of popular approval and disapproval were displayed as the procession moved along. Most marked was the absence of cheers for the queen. The people felt, perhaps justly, that her extravagance, as well as her political influence over the king, had contributed to the desperate situation of the kingdom.

On the next day the first business session took place. Notwithstanding the intense anticipations of every one that some as yet scarcely defined good was to come from this longed-for meeting, the first session ended in disappointment, for the king's speech seemed to indicate that the representatives were assembled merely as taxpayers for the relief of the royal embarrassments. The keeper of the seals only confirmed this impression in his speech, and announced that the court had determined certain restrictions on the manner of procedure. Necker's speech, three hours long, was little more than a financial statement, and greatly disappointed those who looked to him to champion the people's cause.

Popular disappointment.

The Upper Orders desert the Third Estate. — On the following day, when the third estate assembled in the hall, they found themselves deserted by nobility and clergy, who had gone each to a separate chamber. Request after request failed to persuade them to return. They were clinging to their old privileges. If they were all to meet in one body it was evident that the third estate with a few liberal nobles and clergy could easily outvote the other orders, whereas if there were three separate chambers there would be the votes of two chambers of privileged classes against the one chamber of commons. The necessary reforms could certainly not be accomplished in this manner. All efforts and negotiations to bring them together seemed unavailing.

Third Estate becomes a National Assembly. — The

nation, as well as the third estate, was growing impatient, and six weeks after the first session, on June 17, the representatives of the third estate, feeling further effort at union to be useless, solemnly declared themselves to be the National Assembly. The court tried to balk them by persuading the king to suspend their sittings for a few days until he could meet with them. Finding their hall closed on June 20, and an armed force on guard, they moved to the Tennis Court. There, standing in the bare hall, the deputies swore "not to separate until they had given France a constitution." On June 23 the general sitting which the court had demanded took place. The king censured the Assembly, declared its decrees revoked, commanded the continued separate sittings of the three orders, and ended by ordering the deputies to disperse. Only the clergy and nobility obeyed.

Oath in the Tennis Court.

Beginning of Constitutionalism in Europe. — The oath of the Tennis Court marks the real beginning of modern constitutionalism in Europe. Having once taken the decided step, the National Assembly was no longer intimidated by commands to rescind its action and to disperse, or by threats of the court. By June 27 the majority of the clergy and nobility, submitting to the inevitable, had joined the Assembly and begun serious deliberations on the welfare of France. The national authority had triumphed over the petty schemes of privilege.

Several members of this remarkable body deserve special attention. One was Lafayette, a young noble, whose experience in America had made him liberal. He had suggested the States-General in a meeting of Notables in 1787, and, in the later separate meeting of the nobles in May, 1789, had advocated the general sittings desired by the third estate. Mirabeau, a noble who had failed of election as a delegate of the nobility, was chosen to represent the commons of Aix. His varied life, his majestic carriage and hideous face, all contributed to make him a marked figure. His masterly mind soon dominated the Assembly. It was he who, on June 23, replied to the master of ceremonies, who came to remind the third estate of the king's order to disperse: "Go tell your master that we are here at the command of the people, and nothing but the bayonet shall drive us hence." For nearly two years Mirabeau was the undoubted leader of the political revolution. After his death in 1791, it is said that whenever a difficult question was under discussion, the members would unconsciously turn toward the seat he had left vacant.

Lafayette.

Mirabeau.

Among the clergy were two who became prominent not only in the National Assembly but in subsequent governments during the revolutionary period. These were the Abbé Sieyès, deputy from Paris, and Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun. Of the third estate, Robespierre was a member, but his influence was small until after the overthrow

Sieyès, Talleyrand.

of the monarchy in 1792. He gained his great notoriety as a member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Terror.

Popular Excitement in Paris. — The long contest of the third estate, privileged classes, and king over the organization of the Assembly at Versailles, together with the great scarcity of food, had aroused Paris, only twelve miles away, to the highest pitch of excitement. Street orators inflamed the populace, and on July 12, 1789, hearing of Necker's dismissal, they broke out in open riot. Soldiers had been stationed in Paris and Versailles, and this had given rise to the rumor that the king was intending to close the Assembly by force. So much had been anticipated from the Assembly that even a rumor that force was to be used against it was enough to rouse its friends in Paris. Attempts to suppress the popular movements on the 13th further exasperated the people.

Necker dismissed.

The People capture the Bastille. — Some of the troops went over to the side of the people, and on the 14th, at the suggestion of some person still unknown, the attention of the excited populace was directed toward the Bastille. This was an ancient castle or fortress in the city which had served as prison to hundreds of the victims of the *lettres de cachet.* It was now rumored that the cannon of the Bastille were pointed at the streets and that the citizens were to be attacked. This was enough to start the excited people to pillaging gun stores and seizing arms from the Hôtel des In-

valides.* Obviously it was impossible for a mob without cannon, unless by a regular siege, to capture a well-defended stone fortress; but after a few hours of irregular conflict, Delaunay, commander of the Bastille, was persuaded to surrender under promise of safety for himself and the garrison. An infuriated mob, however, does not heed the promises made by a few of its leaders, and the deluded Delaunay, together with many of his soldiers, were murdered and their heads stuck on pikes and carried in triumph about the city. The capture of the Bastille was the beginning of a series of popular insurrections which occurred at intervals through the revolutionary period, and July 14 has come to be adopted and celebrated annually as the French festival of Liberty.

Pike used at attack on the Bastille, July 14, 1789. In *Musée de Carnavalet*, Paris.

King Louis XVI had gone hunting on that day, and before retiring entered in his diary "Nothing," as was his custom when he had taken no game. In the night his "master of the robes" awakened him and reported the desertion of the French Guard and the capture of the Bastille.

"It is a revolt," said his Majesty.

"No, sire," was the reply; "it is a revolution."

It is perhaps true that the fall of the Bastille marks more definitely than any other event,

* Invalides, home for invalid soldiers; a museum of old weapons occupies a part of the building.

not only the fall of the Bourbon despotism in France, but the beginning of the recognition of popular rights in Europe.

The Attack on the Bastille, July 14, 1789.
(After a picture by Singleton.)

The peculiarity of this movement was that it was spontaneous and popular. People of all classes filled the streets and moved in a steady stream toward the Bastille. Many foreigners, princes, and richly dressed ladies, went as spectators and found themselves unable to return through the throng.

Results of July 14. — The outbreak in Paris was followed by similar ones all over France. Feudal castles were destroyed, and the documents prescribing the burdensome feudal dues were burned. The king went to Paris, July 17, recognized the new city government, and put on the tricolor

The king visits Paris.

cockade, the sign of the popular revolution. The people, delighted at this, cried, "*Vive le Roi!*" and on his return to Versailles the Assembly in a body met and accompanied him to the palace. It seemed now that king, people, and Assembly were in accord, and that the revolution would proceed without difficulty. This, however, was too much to hope.

Abolition of Privileges. — It became evident from the action of the people during the month of July that the privileges of the nobility must cease. Possibly to avoid the violence of the people, possibly in the sincere desire to conform to the new order of things, it was proposed by one of the noble members of the Assembly on the night of August 4 that feudal rights, personal servitude, and in fact all special privileges of the nobility should be abolished.

Sacrifices of August 4.

This proposition, which came as a great surprise to most of the members of the Assembly, was seized upon with enthusiasm. The clergy joined with the nobility in making sacrifices for the common welfare. Officers of towns, provinces, and of corporations in the excitement of the moment abandoned all their special privileges.

The Assembly, feeling that it had taken a long step toward liberty, ordered a medal struck in commemoration of the event, and decreed to the king the title of "Restorer of French Liberty."

In spite of this apparent union with the interests of the common people, there were still enemies of the revolu-

tion. No doubt many of those who had renounced privileges on the night of August 4 sincerely repented their hasty action. The higher clergy and nobility still opposed measures of popular reform. The ministry, led by Necker, who was in favor of government modeled upon the English system, obstructed measures in other directions. The advisers and intimate friends of the king were also active obstructionists. In spite, however, of opposition from these various sources, the evolution of the constitution proceeded.

Many opponents of the Revolution.

Paris invades Versailles. — The king for a time refused his assent to the decrees of the Assembly abolishing privileges. This hesitation was the cause of much discussion and disturbance, and the uneasiness in Paris was such as to cause the court to suggest that the king assemble troops about Paris and Versailles, either to facilitate his flight or to close the Assembly. On the 1st and 3d of October, banquets were given to the officers of one of these royalist regiments in the palace of Versailles. The king and queen and members of the court attended the banquet, and by their presence seemed to sanction the insults offered to the popular revolution. It is said that the tricolored cockade was trampled under foot and that the white cockade of the Bourbons was prominently displayed.

The news of the banquet only added fuel to the flame of excitement in Paris. Provisions had been scarce all through the summer. On the morning of

the 5th of October, the women, upon going to the bake-shops and finding no bread, congregated in the streets, and with the cry of "Bread! Bread!" soon formed a mob. After breaking into the Hôtel de Ville (City Hall), some one turned their attention to Versailles, saying "There is bread to waste about the palace of the king." A motley multitude marched to Versailles, twelve miles away, through mud and rain. The National Guard, under Lafayette, demanded to be led thither also. The crowd of women arrived in advance of the National Guard and presented petitions to the Assembly and to the king. All the skill of Lafayette was needed to prevent serious disorder. On the morning of October 6 a part of the Paris mob broke into the palace of the king, killed several of the guards, and would have assassinated the queen in her bed had she not escaped to the king's chamber. Nothing would satisfy this hungry crowd but the return of the king with them to Paris; so king, queen, and the royal family went on that day with the disorderly but now good-natured mob. All felt that the presence of the king at the capital would insure an abundance of food. The palace of the Tuileries was hastily prepared as a royal residence, and the palace of Versailles, abandoned on October 6, 1789, has never since been the regular abode of a ruler of France.

The women march to Versailles.

Royalty moves to Paris.

The Assembly in Paris. — The National Assembly followed the king to Paris. A riding hall close to the

Tuileries was fitted up as its place of meeting, and here the business of making the constitution proceeded. In order to break up the opposition, which was still powerful on account of the territorial organization of the ancient *régime*, the Assembly redivided all France. In place of the ancient provinces there were created eighty-three departments, nearly equal in extent and population. Each of these departments was subdivided into districts and cantons, and uniform administration was established throughout.

The lack of income, which had been the chief cause for assembling the States-General, was not yet remedied.

Seizure of the Church Property. — By the gifts of pious kings and others, for centuries past, vast amounts of property had been conveyed to the church. The higher clergy had enjoyed the income from this property without bearing a due share of the state burdens. It was now proposed that this church property should be seized and made national. Violent opposition, of course, followed on the part of the clergy, who even offered to supply, as a free gift, the present demand for four hundred millions of francs, but the Assembly preferred to take possession of church lands as national property and to provide for the support of the clergy from the national treasury. In order to raise money for immediate needs, a form of note was issued called *assignat*. These notes were to circulate as money. At first they bore interest; later, however, this interest

Assignats issued.

was abolished. The lands seized from the church were to be security for the payment of these notes.

This seizure of church lands and the so-called "civil constitution of the clergy" so antagonized a great number of the ecclesiastics that they became permanent enemies of the revolution. A few bishops, however, favoring the revolution, consecrated those who obeyed

Assignat, from one in possession of the author. (Full size.)

the decree of the Assembly, and in many places there were two forms of service, — that held by the civil clergy and that by the nonjuring clergy, that is, by those who had refused to take the oath to the new order.

Fall of the Bastille Commemorated. — The 14th of July, 1790, was to be celebrated as the anniversary of the day of liberty. Vast preparations were made on the Champ de Mars. Delegates came from all parts of France to take the oath to the constitution. Paris offered her hospitality to these with great enthusiasm. To make the celebration more national, some liberal members of the nobility proposed the abolition of all titles; and on the 20th of June the Assembly saw another sitting similar to that of the 4th of August, when titles, liveries, armorial bearings, and all like emblems of vanity and power were abolished. On the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille great multitudes assembled before the "altar of the nation," erected in the Champ de Mars. The king, the National Guard, and the delegates from the departments took an oath to support the constitution, and all felt certain that a new era of happiness was fairly begun.

The Clubs. — Prominent among the influences in the progress of the revolution were the clubs. The first club was the outgrowth of the meeting of the Breton deputies, held in the evenings between the sessions of the States-General. At these gatherings the measures of each day were reviewed and the policy for the next day's meeting informally discussed. Gradually others than the Breton deputies were invited to these meetings, which soon rivaled in importance those of the Assembly itself.

After the king was taken to Paris by the mob of

October 5 and 6, and the National Assembly followed, the club as a consequence also moved to Paris. The club now held its meeting in the old convent of the Jacobins, and hence came to be known as the Jacobin Club. While there were several other clubs at different periods of the revolution, none is so well known or exercised so tremendous an influence as the Jacobin Club. At first those who were members believed in monarchy, as indeed did nearly all the members of the National Assembly. Gradually, however, those in favor of a republic gained more influence, and when the Jacobin Club reached the height of its power it was ultra-democratic, so that the name Jacobin has come to mean, ever since, the most radical of red republicans.

Flight of the King and its Consequences. — The changes in the government which reduced the influence of the nobility led great numbers of them to leave the country. Prominent among these "emigrants" were the king's brothers, the Count of Provence and the Count of Artois. The Count of Artois was very energetic in urging the European monarchs to attack the revolution. Louis XVI, possibly from a desire not to place himself in a position too dependent on foreign powers and possibly dreading the greater influence of his brother, the Count of Artois, should he return with the victorious "emigrants" and foreign troops, determined that he would make an effort himself to reëstablish the old order of things. Having held communication with General Bouillé, who was in command of troops near to the eastern border

of France, the king determined to leave Paris, place himself at the head of these troops, and put an end to the revolution. Great preparations were made by the royal family for this departure.*

Although there were rumors that the king intended to escape, he succeeded in leaving Paris with his family on the 20th of June, 1791. When about two days' journey from Paris, the king, beginning to feel secure, exposed himself and was recognized. The alarm was given, and the National Guard took possession of him and notified the Assembly. Commissioners were sent to bring the king and family back to Paris, practically prisoners. Although they were still allowed to reside in the Tuileries, a guard was placed over them and the king temporarily suspended from the duties of office.

The king is arrested.

First Movement for a Republic. — The celebration of the fall of the Bastille was held on the 14th of July, 1791, but lacked the enthusiasm of the year before. In order to pacify the people who desired the king to abdicate, the Assembly declared that if he either retracted the oath he had taken to the constitution or attempted to make war upon the nation he should be considered as abdicating.

The populace of Paris, desiring the abdication of the king, immediately drew up a petition, appealing to the

* A large vehicle, conspicuous in color and appointments, was specially constructed for the journey. Great secrecy was maintained concerning its purpose while it was building, but so unusual was its appearance that it was certain to attract attention when on the road.

sovereignty of the nation, assuming that the king was deposed since his flight. This petition, prepared by a republican editor of Paris named Brissot, was carried to the altar of the country in the Champ de Mars and left for signatures. The multitude gathered about this petition was regarded by Lafayette, the commander of the National Guard, as dangerous to the peace of the city, and he dispersed it by force.

This was the first conflict between the legal government and the radical republicans. From this time forward there was a constant attempt by the populace of Paris, led by violent agitators, to accomplish the dethronement of the king and the establishment of a republic.

Declaration of Pilnitz and Completion of the Constitution. — The emigrant nobles endeavored by every means to accumulate troops on the border of France, to encourage the desertion of the French officers, and finally succeeded in persuading the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia to join in publishing a letter called the "Declaration of Pilnitz." This document required that the king be at liberty to go where he pleased; that he be restored to his authority; that the Assembly be dissolved, and that feudal rights be restored to the German princes of Alsace. War was threatened as penalty for the refusal.

Instead of the Assembly being frightened it was only irritated by this declaration. The question was asked, "What right have the princes of Europe to interfere in the government of France?" The indigna-

tion of the people, as well as of the Assembly, was aroused, and the National Guard was at once enrolled as an army for the defence of the country. This was in August, 1791. By September of the same year the constitution was completed. The suspension was removed from Louis XVI, and the constitution was presented to him by sixty deputies. The king declared in writing that he accepted it and engaged to maintain it at home and defend it from all attacks abroad. This letter excited general approbation. On the 29th of September the king made a patriotic and congratulatory speech which was heartily applauded, and the Constituent Assembly then declared its mission accomplished, and terminated its sitting.

The king accepts the constitution.

SECTION II.

The Legislative Assembly.

The Opening of the Assembly. — The Constitution of 1791, as it is called, was not as democratic as that of the United States, yet its provisions, could they have been carried out, would have assured an excellent government and happiness for the French people. But, unfortunately, there had been aroused feelings of hatred between the mass of the people and those who had formerly been the superior classes, which, together with the attack of Europe, brought on by the "emigrants," made it impossible for an ordinary government to proceed.

The Legislative Assembly, which met the 1st of October, 1791, was composed entirely of men unacquainted with the workings of a constitutional government, and who labored under the disadvantage of being obliged to gain their experience in times of great excitement and danger.

In order to convince the country that they were not desirous of prolonging their power, the Constituent Assembly had voted that no member of that body or of the administration should be eligible for reëlection. For the most part, the members of the new legislative body were men of the best intentions, but circumstances were such that even great and good men could not prevent the disasters which were about to fall upon France. The very opening of the Legislative Assembly was unfortunate. The king received with scant courtesy a deputation sent to notify him that the new Assembly was sitting. A number of members attempted to resent this by refusing to grant him the customary title of "Sire" or "Majesty" when he should come to the Assembly, but they finally determined to receive him respectfully.

Obstacles to Legislative Progress. — The new Legislative Assembly had scarcely begun its labors when it encountered difficulties which impeded the steady progress of law-making. The great numbers of priests who had refused to take the oath to accept the new order of things stirred up dissensions in the interior of France, and the collection of troops by the "emigrants" and the formation of the coalition by the European

kings, drove the Legislative Assembly to acts unwarranted by the constitution, but which seemed necessary for the preservation of the country. Within the Assembly itself there were antagonisms. The conservative element, called the "Right," was firmly attached to the constitutional monarchy. However, the most influential party in the Assembly, the Girondist,* while not yet demanding a republic, was largely influenced by individual members who were in favor of that form of government. The Assembly felt it necessary to take immediate action against those who were endeavoring to subvert the existing government. Many of the bishops and priests who had refused to take the oath to support the constitution attempted to prohibit religious worship conducted by those who had taken the oath. They decreed that all sacraments administered by the Intruders, as they were called, were illegal. These efforts of the clergy were intended to occupy the people at home, so that the military operations of the "emigrants" abroad could proceed more rapidly. The Assembly passed the decrees that all priests should be obliged to swear allegiance to the constitution or be deprived of support by the state and classed as rebels, and if any should be found taking part in exciting disturbance, they were to be imprisoned.

Decrees against priests.

The Assembly furthermore decreed that the eldest brother of the king should return to France within

* So named because some of its leaders were from the department of the Garonne.

two months or forfeit his rights as regent; that all Frenchmen found beyond the frontiers of France should be regarded as conspirators against their country, and that they were to be punishable by death and confiscation of property if they remained assembled after the 1st of January, 1792. The king signed the decree in regard to his brother, but vetoed those against the priests and "emigrants." The Assembly felt this half measure to be an affront, and the populace was enraged. The king, although unwilling to decree the punishment of his friends, could not, so long as he was at the head of the French government, tolerate their military preparations for the invasion of France, without being suspected of treachery to the nation.

War to support the Constitution. — It was known that the "emigrants" were making such preparations in the electorates of Treves and Mayence and in the bishopric of Spires. The king was asked to notify the neighboring princes that these military gatherings must be dispersed, and to tell the princes of Germany that, if their preparations for war against France did not cease, the French would carry into their territory not only fire and the sword, but liberty. He replied that if his representations to these neighboring princes were not heeded, he would propose war against them. The government of Austria, being at the moment in active preparation for the invasion of France, the Assembly required Francis II to give a definite explanation of his real intentions. The result of this was an ultimatum re-

ceived from Austria, containing not only the same idea as the Declaration of Pilnitz, but demanding the reëstablishment of the absolute monarchy in France, the restoration of church property to the clergy, and the reëstablishment of the feudal rights in Alsace. No nation, and no king with a grain of self-respect, could submit to such dictation from a foreign monarch, and on the 20th of April, 1792, Louis XVI, surrounded by his ministers, went to the Assembly and proposed war against the King * of Hungary and Bohemia.

All France was now joyful. War would give a definite occupation to the excited people. On all sides the enthusiasm showed itself in addresses from municipalities and popular societies, by gifts of money and of arms, and the enrollment of new troops. Unfortunately enthusiasm alone does not conquer a foe. Order and discipline were too plainly wanting. The early contests resulted unfavorably to the French, and it was claimed that agents of the court were guilty of treachery, causing the French arms to be unsuccessful. Early in June the Assembly moved that a camp of twenty thousand men be established near Paris to protect the capital. Other measures to excite the public mind were taken, such as enrolling great numbers of the people and arming them with pikes.

General enthusiasm.

The King changes Ministers. — The more conservative members of the Assembly were opposed to these

* Francis II was not yet elected emperor.

measures, but the Girondists favored the demands of the lower class of society, rather than the *bourgeoisie*, which had heretofore been the ruling element, supported by the Right in the Assembly. The king became dissatisfied with his Girondist ministers, as they urged him to surround himself with only those priests who had taken the oath to the constitution; the ministers claimed that otherwise he would be setting a bad example to the nation. The king refused to listen, and when Roland,* minister of the interior, addressed to him a letter of advice concerning his constitutional duties, the king's patience could no longer be maintained and he dismissed the Girondist cabinet.

The new ministers, whom he selected from the conservative element in the Assembly, were not approved by the populace. Lafayette, who was with the army, belonged to the conservatives. He felt that the clubs in Paris were becoming too powerful, and addressed a letter to the Assembly demanding the closing of the Jacobin Club. The Assembly felt that to listen to the demands of a general at the head of his troops was to submit legal government to a dictator, while the populace felt that Lafayette was arraying himself with the king against the people.

The Mob invades the Tuileries. — These events

* Probably the letter was largely the work of Madame Roland, who was a woman of great political insight and enthusiasm. Her intellect and personal charm drew to the house of Roland the most important political leaders, chiefly Girondists. After the fall of the Girondists the Jacobin leaders caused the arrest and execution of Madame Roland, in November, 1793.

so stirred the people of the suburbs of Paris and the more excitable element in the city that, on the 20th of June, a body of petitioners, thirty thousand in number, demanding the enforcement of the decrees against the priests and the recall of the Girondist ministry, entered the Assembly. It was illegal for people in arms to come before the law-making body, but ever since the

Invasion of the Tuileries, June 20, 1792.
(After a drawing made at the time.)

declaration of war, those offering their services in the defence of the country had been permitted to march through the hall. Inasmuch as the constitution had been violated before, the Assembly was unable to refuse entrance to the petitioners of June 20. The

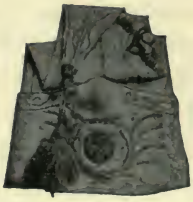
procession composed of members of the National Guard, men armed with pikes, women and children bearing revolutionary banners and singing revolutionary songs, marched through the hall of the Assembly shouting, "*Vive la Nation!*" "*Vivent les Sans-Culottes!*" and "*A bas le Veto!*" As the mob emerged from the hall of the Assembly into the Tuileries garden, it proceeded to the palace of the king. This motley multitude forced its way into the palace, breaking down the doors with hatchets. The king, surrounded by a few guards, was placed in the recess of a window and seated in a chair on a table. The mob seemed inclined to do him no harm, especially after he had bravely replied to their demand that he sanction the decrees of the Assembly: "This is neither the mode nor the moment to obtain it from me," and after he had consented to put on a dirty red liberty cap, which was offered him on the point of a pike. He even drank without fear a glass of wine which was offered to him by one of the passing rabble.

The king's bravery.

No one was injured in this popular demonstration, although the queen, the king's sister, and the royal children were greatly alarmed, as they were in a different part of the palace and did not know of the safety of the king. Although no serious injury was done, this disgraceful performance only served to excite the multitude of Paris to more desperate deeds, and to irritate the friends of the constitutional party against those who had organized the insurrection. Thus the constitutional party

and the popular party were arrayed against each other in such a way as to bring about violent conflict in the Assembly, in the clubs, and in Paris.

The Popular Party gains Control of the Assembly. — For a brief period after the 20th of June, 1792, the constitutional party recovered its influence, and efforts were made to throw the entire responsibility of the insult to the king upon the leaders of the popular party, which was for the time forced upon the defensive. The constitutionalists instantly seized the opportunity to assume command, but as they were not supported by the court their advantage was short lived. The National Guard offered to remain about the king for his personal protection; a proposition was also made to take him to certain loyal troops, while Lafayette wished him to assume command of the army at Compiègne. The king, however, hoping for assistance from the armies of other European monarchs, and feeling that the insults of the mob would hasten the efforts of these powers in his behalf, was unwilling to place himself under obligations to the constitutional party. Lafayette suddenly returned to Paris from the frontier, and, presenting himself before the Assembly, required



Jacobin Cap. (Collection in *Musée Carnavalet.*)

Revolutionary Police Cap. (Collection of *M. Poilpot.*)

the punishment of those concerned in the insurrection, and also the closing of the Jacobin Club. Of course the Right seconded these efforts, but the Left was so violently opposed to him that a proposition was made that he be called to account for leaving his army without orders. Lafayette's failure to enlist the Assembly against the multitude lost him what little popularity and power he still retained. From this time forward the men in favor of the constitutional monarchy lost their influence. There seemed to be no party but the one opposed to the monarchy strong enough to control the Assembly and the populace of Paris.

The Throne totters. — Other events hastened the downfall of the monarch. The armies of Austria and Prussia, already on the way to France, became more active after the 20th of June. France was about to be invaded by foreign foes. She must either defend herself or ignominiously surrender. It was no time to discuss fine points of the constitution. Action must be taken at once. Speeches made in the Assembly demanded that all priests should be punished as intriguing conspirators, and charged the king with plotting against the nation. On the 5th of July, 1792, the Assembly solemnly issued the declaration: "Citizens, the country is in danger." The enthusiasm for the defence of the country now rose to a height which recalled the excitement at the time the Bastille was captured. All citizens experienced in service and capable of bearing arms were

The people arm themselves.

placed on the active list. All arms and ammunition were put at the service of the state. Many companies, unable to obtain firearms, were given pikes. Banners in public squares, bearing the inscription, "The country is in danger," kept constantly before the minds of the people the fear that their revolution would fail if France were to be successfully invaded.

The Prussians approached the border of France. Their leader, the Duke of Brunswick, issued a manifesto, largely inspired by the Count of Artois, in which he demanded that not only must the king be restored to his legitimate authority, but towns which dared to defend themselves should be held responsible for any attack upon or any insult to the king. Paris was to be turned over to pillage by the foreign soldiery, and officers were to pay penalty of resistance with their heads. Such a proclamation as this could neither help the invaders nor the king. It tended only to stir the patriotism of the whole nation. It hastened, more than anything that had yet occurred, the destruction of the monarchy, and prevented the possible success of the allied armies. Every person in France who was not willing to join in the defence of the country was held virtually guilty of "impiety."

Patriotism aroused.

Within Paris the portion of the Assembly led by the Girondists desired to terminate the power of the king by decree of the Assembly, while Danton, Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and others, wished

to accomplish this by means of an insurrection of the multitude. These men were the real leaders of the lower class of society against the middle class, which was represented by the Girondists. The conflict between the Gironde party and the leaders of the Paris mob could not be settled until one or other should triumph. The Girondists wished the middle class to retain the preponderance of power in the government, while the others would hurry on pure democracy by opening the way to the masses. Whichever view triumphed, it was certain that there would be no delay in face of the danger of invasion, and it was equally certain that if France was to be victorious over her foes, internal dissension must cease, and the one party or the other control absolutely the energies of the people.

The Overthrow of the Monarchy. — The dethronement of the king was discussed in political clubs, in the *faubourgs*, and in meetings held in various parts of Paris. One or two plans for insurrection were prevented in the latter part of July. On the 3d of August the city, through its mayor, demanded of the legislative body the dethronement of the king. On the 8th of August the accusation of Lafayette was discussed, and he was acquitted by a majority of the Assembly, but those who voted for him were hissed and insulted by the crowd in the galleries and mistreated by the people while leaving the hall.

An insurrection, to take place on the 10th of August, was fully organized. Preparations were made by the

authorities for defending the king in the palace of the Tuileries. A large number of courtiers and nobles were gathered together with about eight hundred Swiss Guards and some of the National Guard, in all perhaps a thousand well-armed men, to resist the onset of thousands of the rabble. Some of the latter were well-armed and disciplined, but the majority were poorly equipped and without plan or organization. Between the 9th and 10th, at midnight, alarm bells were sounded in all the church steeples; the insurgents assembled and named a provisional council to occupy the Hôtel de Ville and direct the insurrection. This was to prevent the regular authorities under the mayor from interfering.

Insurrection planned.

At daylight, when the king descended into the garden of the Tuileries to review the defenders of the palace, but few of the National Guard paid him the usual respect. Some of them cried, "*Vive la Nation!*" instead of "*Vive le Roi!*" Some of the cannon were turned toward the Tuileries instead of away from it. Those who should have been defenders of the government were evidently taking the part of insurrectionists; the only services on which the king could rely with certainty were those of his supporters within the palace. The commandant of the National Guard went from the palace to the Hôtel de Ville, upon an order from the mayor, and was there murdered by the insurrectionists and his head stuck upon a pike and paraded about the town. The king was advised to

The king leaves the palace.

leave the palace and go to the Assembly for protection. On his way through the gardens he was insulted by the unarmed rabble already collected. Shortly after, the insurgents, not aware that the king had left the palace, began the attack. The Swiss Guards, receiving orders from the king to cease firing, did not defend themselves,

Place du Carousel, between the Tuileries and the Louvre, on August 10, 1792.
(Collection of *Henri Rochefort.*)

The tocsin sounded at midnight of August 9 in all parts of the city. Insurgents marched to the Tuileries early in the morning of the 10th. There is authority for the statement that the conflict began by the Swiss Guards firing upon the mob at the order of the queen.

and were massacred by the mob. The palace itself was invaded, and every one unable to escape was cut down. Even the cooks and servants in the kitchen were victims of the blood-thirsty horde. In singular contrast to this, the few Swiss Guards who climbed upon the marble

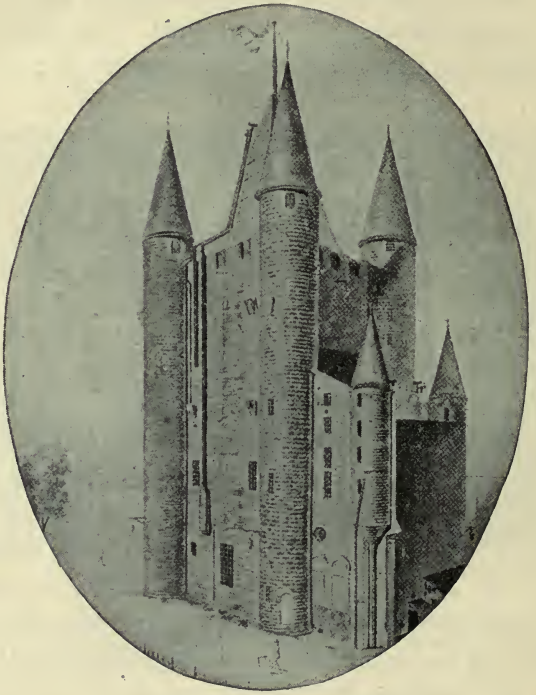
statues in the garden, were spared by the frantic mob for fear of soiling these works of art with blood.

The Assembly, unable to do business on account of the sounds of the conflict and the constant fear of invasion, was undecided as to its course. As soon as the Tuileries had been captured, the leaders of the newly formed city government came to the Assembly and demanded that the king be deposed and a national convention called. Intimidated by the armed force, the Assembly yielded, pronounced the king suspended and his ministers dismissed. They also recalled the Girondist ministers, ordered the execution of the decree against the priests who had not taken the oath, dispatched commissioners to the armies to announce the change of government, and sent the king and his family as prisoners to the Temple.

The Triumph of Violence. — The insurrection of the 10th of August began a new era in the Revolution. Political reforms were less considered, and a dictatory and arbitrary epoch was opened. Lafayette for a moment conceived the idea of leading the army to Paris to reëstablish constitutional government, but realizing that this would lead to civil war at the same time that foreign foes were invading France, he abandoned the project and left his country, intending to go to America. The Austrians captured him and kept him in prison for five years.

All hope of restoring Louis XVI was abandoned. The army and the departments of France submitted

to the new order of things established in Paris, and the nonjuring priests and nobility alone remained opposed to the new dictatorship of the people. Danton,



The Temple, where Louis XVI and his family were imprisoned. Erected by Knights Templar in 1212. Demolished in 1811.
(After a water-color of the time.)

one of the instigators of the insurrection of the 10th of August, made a speech in the Assembly in which he said that Paris must be defended by all

possible means against the invasion of the foreigners. Since this defence would be impossible so long as many inside the city favored the invasion, it followed that the only way to make France a unit against the hostile armies would be to intimidate those in favor of royalty! He closed his speech with these words: "It is my opinion that to disconcert their measures and stop the enemy we must make the royalists fear." Whether Danton intended the horrible massacre which succeeded this, we cannot say, but immediately great numbers of persons who were suspected of loyalty to the king were captured and thrown into prison; especially the clergy and nobles were seized and charged with conspiracy. On the 2d of September and a few succeeding days, hundreds of these prisoners were massacred. About three hundred assassins, probably hired by the city government, wreaked the vengeance of the lower classes upon those whom they regarded as their enemies. The Assembly was unable to prevent these massacres. The insurrectionary city government can alone be held responsible. Inexcusable as was this whole proceeding, certainly Paris had no need to fear for a time any further royalist intrigues, and the population was now a unit for the defence of the country against the invading armies.

Massacres of September, 1792.

CHAPTER II.

THE REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE.

SECTION I.

The Period of the Convention, 1792–1795.

The Republic proclaimed. — The 20th of September was the day appointed for the beginning of the National Convention. The first work of this newly elected body was to abolish royalty and to proclaim a republic. The calendar was changed, and the year 1792 was called the year One of the French Republic. Naturally there were none in this Convention who were favorable to the constitutional monarchy. The Girondists who had been the radicals of the preceding assembly were the conservatives in the new one, and the radicals in the convention who supported the populace in all their insurrections were called the "Mountain." This name was given them from their occupying the high seats on the left of the hall. The Girondists, forced by circumstances to become republicans, now found themselves occupying nearly the same position with regard to the multitude that the monarchists had occupied with regard to the middle classes at the beginning of the Revolution. To the Mountain the extremest democracy was the ideal gov-

ernment. The Girondists, at present the strongest in the Convention, were destined soon to lose their influence. There was a sort of intermediate party between the Girondists and the Mountain, which scarcely favored either extreme, but voted with one side or the other as seemed to it best.

The Leaders of the Mountain. — The Mountain was led by the deputies of Paris, and of these Robespierre, Danton, and Marat were the chief. Danton is described by some as a monster physically and morally, and by others as the ideal and embodiment of the republic. He was a man of gigantic size, and had a face made hideous by pockmarks. He had a reckless disposition, and spoke with an eloquence which always swayed the multitude. He was minister of justice under the Legislative Assembly, and under the Convention a member of the Committee of Public Safety. When the Prussians invaded France in 1792, he declared the aristocrats within France were in league with them. Perhaps more than any one else he was responsible for the massacres of the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September, 1792, when priests, nobles, and others who had been imprisoned since the 10th of August were murdered, after being identified before a mere mockery of a tribunal. Danton

Danton.
(After an oil painting in *Musée Carnavalet.*)

was the most energetic, fearless, and truly patriotic of the popular leaders. He favored general education, and, when the republic had triumphed, was in favor of shedding less blood. This very tendency was his undoing, for his rival Robespierre seized the opportunity to accuse him of moderation, and had him guillotined.

Robespierre, who outlived the other two, was destined to dominate the Convention with his views to a greater extent than any or all of the others. He had gradually risen from a position of no influence to be the most commanding of the Jacobin leaders, and in the Convention he assumed the position he had held with the Jacobins. His personal character was said to be above reproach, but he was cold and unsympathetic, and relied for support upon the fanatics to be found in the lowest elements of Paris. The Convention had no sooner begun than some of the members foresaw the prominence of Robespierre, and he was accused of aspiring to become dictator of France. He continued his efforts to dominate in the Jacobin Club, in the Convention, and in the Committee of Public Safety until by cunning and perseverance he had sent most of his rivals to the guillotine. When, in July, 1794, he succeeded in obtaining a decree that the Committee of Public Safety might arrest any deputy "suspected of disaffection," the Convention could endure no more. It revolted and caused his arrest.

Marat was also denounced in the Convention by the better element. He had been editing a paper called

"*L'Ami du Peuple,*" in which he had praised the massacres of September. For some time he had been advocating the murder of aristocrats, and his appearance and character were such as to excite the horror of all the better disposed members. Yet even Marat was so upheld by the Paris multitude that measures against him could not succeed.

Marat.
(After a painting in *Musée Carnavalet.*)

The attacks of the Girondists against these leaders of the Mountain, being unsuccessful, tended to react against themselves. Paris was irritated, while the Girondists gained no friends. A plot was hatched against the Girondists, who were presently accused of conspiracy to remove the seat of government from Paris into the provinces. This accusation aroused the indignation of their opponents in the capital against them. The Gironde members were pointed out to the multitude with scorn, while the Mountain gained favor by advocating a decree for the "unity and indivisibility" of the republic.

Trial and Execution of the King. — It soon became evident that the government of the republic would be embarrassed by the presence of the dethroned king as prisoner in the capital, and discussion arose as to what should be done with him. One party felt that Louis

XVI was guilty of hostility to the nation, but held, nevertheless, that he had been granted safety by the constitution, and that the convention which had the power to change the government had no power to judge the king.

Another party held that since the king had been deposed he was no longer protected by the constitution, but could be judged as a simple citizen who was guilty of treason to his country.

The Jacobin Club proceeded craftily to prepare the public mind for the trial of the king. Injurious reports against his character were circulated. Delegations from the sections * of Paris came to the Assembly, bearing on litters men who had been wounded on the 10th of August. They endeavored thus to excite that body in behalf of those injured in the attack on Louis Capet, as they now called the dethroned king. The discussions between the Girondists and the Mountain, as well as the popular excitement, increased the feeling against the unfortunate king.

All evidence possible was collected to prove that he had been in correspondence with the emigrant princes and with the European powers. He was accused of desiring to restore the absolute government in every particular, and of having proposed war not to avenge France for the insults offered by the European princes, but merely to hasten their approach as his deliverers.

* Subdivisions of the city for political purposes. The sections replaced the former districts for the election of members to the States-General.

All these methods were taken with a view to exciting the people and members of the Convention against the king so that he might be punished. There was no law under which he could be tried, and no tribunal authorized to pronounce sentence; therefore, by sophistry and collusion, they must bring about his trial and condemnation. A committee was appointed to draw up a report on the question whether he could be tried by the Convention. The substance of the report was that while Louis XVI could not be tried as a king, he might, as an individual, be brought to trial under the penal code relating to traitors and conspirators; and that while the Convention was not empowered by law to try him, it might do anything in the interest of the people, as it was the only body representing the people.

King tried as a traitor.

This reasoning was adopted by the Girondists to excuse themselves for going further than they knew to be right. A small party, led by Robespierre and Saint Just, was more consistent, even if more ferocious. This party advocated the summary execution of the king without trial, like a conquered prisoner, as a measure of self-defence. Much discussion on all sides of the question followed in the Convention.

Louis had been confined in the Temple for four months when he was finally, on December 11, brought before the Convention and accused of "*treason against the sovereignty of the people, and conspiracy against the state.*" He was allowed to have counsel in his de-

fence, but the most able lawyers would have been entirely unable to combat the spirit of vengeance in the minds of the judges. The most that could be hoped

Trial of Louis XVI before the Convention, December 26, 1792.
The construction of the hall is characteristic of French legislative halls.
(Picture after a drawing by Pellegrini.)

was that through their efforts history might know what could be said in behalf of the king. The king felt certain from the beginning that his life would be sacrificed. When the vote upon his guilt was taken, the Convention unanimously decided him to be guilty, but on the vote as to punishment the majority was only twenty-six in favor of death.

Condemned to death.

Once determined upon the king's destruction, the Assembly would grant no request for delay. The king asked for three days to prepare for eternity, to be allowed the services of a priest, and to communicate with his wife and children. Only twenty-four hours and the privilege to interview his family (before witnesses), were given him. A priest was permitted to offer him the last consolations of religion.

On the morning of the 21st of January, 1793, followed by a long procession, composed mostly of such people as had taken part in the insurrection which caused the downfall of the monarchy, Louis was conducted to the scaffold. He attempted to speak to the people, and was heard to say, "I die innocent. I forgive my enemies, and you, unfortunate people" — At this point the beating of drums drowned his voice, the executioners seized him, and in a moment his head fell into the basket under the guillotine. At the age of thirty-nine Louis XVI thus fell a victim to the evils bequeathed him by his ancestors and to his own incompetence as a monarch.

Jacobins and Girondists. — Instead of unifying the political parties, the death of the king added to their dissension and increased the energy of the enemies to the Revolution, both inside and outside of France. From this time to the end of the Reign of Terror the progress of the Revolution is but a tale of the struggle of the vicious classes for domination over the more respectable element in France. This developed the dictatorship of

the mob and the dictatorship of an individual over the mob. Little hope for peace and progress could be expected under the circumstances. Indeed, internal peace did not come until France, becoming weary of the revolutionary excitement, settled down to submission under Napoleon.

Following the death of Louis XVI, the years 1793 and 1794 were full of turmoil. The members of the Mountain, who directed the popular movements, excited the fanaticism of the people by speeches and by insurrections, and kept them in constant excitement for the purpose of using their passions and power.

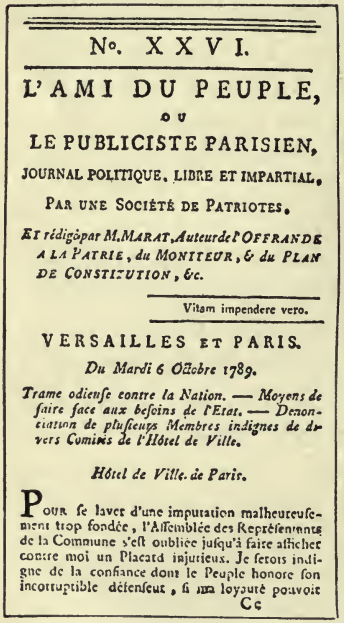
Insurrection of La Vendée. — No sooner had the Jacobins succeeded in establishing their control of affairs in Paris and in the army than enemies from a new quarter presented themselves. The district of La Vendée, in the west of France, had remained under the feudal system in spite of all changes which had taken place elsewhere. There was no middle class in La Vendée. All were either peasants or landlords, and there were no large towns, few roads, and little civilization. The priests, dominating the ignorant people, had taught them their interests were identical with those of the nobility, so that any attempt to impose upon this district the changes introduced by the Revolution was regarded as a cause for war. Several times there had been small disturbances in La Vendée, and although these local rebellions were put down with great severity, they continued to recur thereafter for fifteen or twenty years.

The immediate cause of the outbreak in 1793 was the execution of the king. La Vendée believed thoroughly in the ancient *régime*, and the killing of the king was a cause for war. The Vendéans, led by a few distinguished nobles and assisted with arms and money from England, were enabled to carry on a harassing warfare. The internal war added to the danger of invasion, and the quarrels between Jacobins and Girondists led to the triumph and dictatorship of the lowest and most fanatical element of society, and this culminated in the Reign of Terror.

Marat in the Revolution. — Since 1789 Marat had been publishing his paper called "*L'Ami du Peuple.*" This had constantly incited the people of Paris to acts of lawlessness and had prepared the public mind, to a great extent, for the execution of the king. Marat himself was of disgusting appearance, undersized and diseased, fanatical, if not actually insane. The issues of his paper through 1792 and part of 1793 were filled with constant calls for blood. There was in it a monotony of malice and class hatred. The only variation in his demands was for a constantly increasing number of heads of aristocrats.

In one issue of his paper, in February, 1793, he said that all merchants and capitalists and monopolists, as he called the dealers in provisions, were merely agents of the old *régime*, and that the pillage of the stores and the hanging of monopolists would remove the enemies of the people. The natural result, of course, was the in-

vasion of the grocer shops by a mob of forty thousand people. Marat himself appeared at the club of the Jacobins and at the Assembly to justify the riot, and



N°. XXVI.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE,

OU

LE PUBLICISTE PARISIEN,

JOURNAL POLITIQUE, LIBRE ET IMPARTIAL,

PAR UNE SOCIÉTÉ DE PATRIOTES,

Et rédigé par M. MARAT, Auteur de l'OFFRANDE A LA PATRIE, du MONITEUR, & du PLAN DE CONSTITUTION, &c.

Vitam impendere vero.

VERSAILLES ET PARIS.

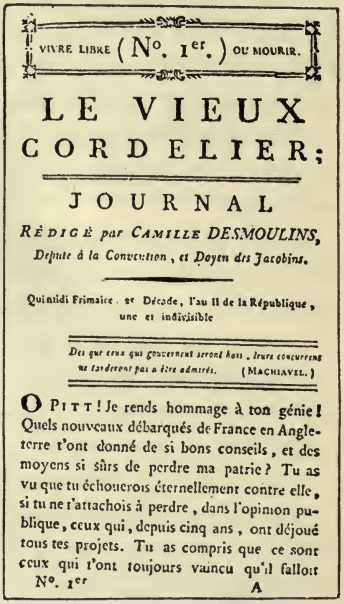
Du Mardi 6 Octobre 1789.

Trame odieuse contre la Nation. — Moyens de faire face aux besoins de l'Etat. — Denonciation de plusieurs Membres indignes de divers Comités de l'Hôtel de Ville.

Hôtel de Ville. de Paris.

POUR se laver d'une imputation malheureusement trop fondée, l'Assemblée des Représentants de la Commune s'est oubliée jusqu'à faire afficher contre moi un Placard injurieux. Je serois indigne de la confiance dont le Peuple honore son incorruptible défenseur, si ma loyauté pouvoit

Cc



VIVRE LIBRE (N°. 1er.) OU MOURIR.

LE VIEUX CORDELIER;

JOURNAL

RÉDIGÉ par CAMILLE DESMOULINS, Deputé à la Convention, et Doyen des Jacobins.

Quintidi Frimaire, 2e Décade, l'an II de la République, une et indivisible

Des que ceux qui gouvernent seront bons, leurs concurrens ne tarderont pas à être admirés. (MACHIAVEL.)

O PITT! Je rends hommage à ton génie! Quels nouveaux débarqués de France en Angleterre t'ont donné de si bons conseils, et des moyens si sûrs de perdre ma patrie? Tu as vu que tu échouerois éternellement contre elle, si tu ne t'attachois à perdre, dans l'opinion publique, ceux qui, depuis cinq ans, ont déjoué tous tes projets. Tu as compris que ce sont ceux qui t'ont toujours vaincu qu'il falloit

N°. 1er A

Reduced Facsimile of Title-pages of Two Revolutionary Journals. These are types of the newspapers of the time. Originals about 6 x 9 inches.

L'Ami du Peuple was Marat's journal. *Le Vieux Cordelier* was edited by Camille Desmoulins. Bound volumes of these and other journals may be seen in the *Bibliothèque Nationale.*

said it was not instigated by him, but by those who had caused high prices. Such an influence over the Paris

mob could not fail to arouse the horror of the more moderate members of the Assembly, and, indeed, of friends of order everywhere.

In July, 1793, Charlotte Corday, a young woman from Normandy, conceiving it to be her mission to rid the world of such a monster, came to Paris with the deliberate intention of assassinating him. She obtained admission to his room on the plea that she had information to convey regarding affairs in Normandy. Marat, afflicted with a skin disease, was unable to live in comfort except when sitting in a warm bath. Thus Charlotte Corday found him, a greasy cloth around his shoulders, a board across the bath tub, upon which he was writing his daily paper. A blow from the dagger ended his life. Charlotte Corday was, of course, executed for this murder, as she had anticipated, but she was mistaken in imagining that the death of Marat would put an end to the excesses of the Revolution. Instead of this the excited multitude made Marat an object of worship, and for about a year his busts were in all the public places and his body buried in the Pantheon. At the end of the Reign of Terror, however, his busts were everywhere thrown down and the Pantheon relieved of the remains of this apostle of disorder.

Marat assassinated.

Fall of the Girondists. — It seems to have been the invariable rule throughout the whole progress of the Revolution that dispossessed parties undertook to re-establish themselves by insurrection. In the beginning,

the court attempted to overthrow the States-General by assembling the soldiers. Later, Lafayette threatened the invasion of Paris as a means of coercing the Legislative Assembly. Still later, Dumouriez, at the head of the French army in Belgium, intended to march against the Convention. He had become dissatisfied at the increasing influence of the violent faction in Paris. His own influence had not been sufficient to save the king, but, after his repeated victories against the Austrians, he felt himself strong enough to march to Paris, overturn the Convention, and reëstablish royalty. His soldiers, however, preferred the republic to their leader, and Dumouriez went over to the Austrian camp, branded by the Convention as a traitor.

Defection of Dumouriez.

Although the Girondists had been as earnest as the Mountain in denouncing Dumouriez, they were accused, both in the Convention and out of it, of being his accomplices. Through the months of April and May, 1793, every effort was made by Robespierre and Marat, and those who followed them, to discredit and ruin the whole Gironde party. When Marat attempted to use the entire strength of the Jacobins throughout France to petition against those whom they said had "sought to save the tyrant," and was sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal to be tried for his audacity, the Commune,* the

* Primarily the smallest administrative division of France. In the time of the Revolution it meant more particularly a revolutionary committee in Paris which usurped the municipal government.

clubs, and the people rose to defend him and to get rid of the Girondists. With violence thus threatened to the members of the law-making body, one of the Girondists, in a speech, proposed the removal of the Convention from Paris and its insurrectionary influences. From that moment the Girondist cause was hopeless.

Insurrection against Girondists.

By an organized insurrection on June 2, 1793, the Convention was forced to decree the arrest of twenty-two of the Girondist leaders, who immediately appealed to the Departments of France against the Mountain and the Commune of Paris.

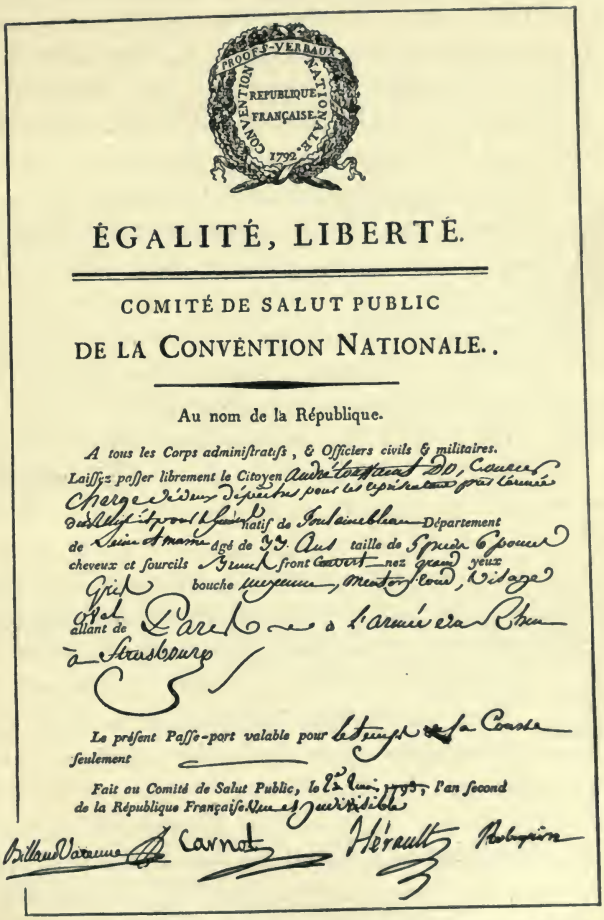
Beginning of Reign of Terror. — The day upon which the leaders of the Girondists were arrested is usually considered the beginning of the Reign of Terror. The Girondists showed the same weakness and want of union in their insurrection as in the Convention. The unsteady policy of these well-meaning men could not accomplish the decisive results attained by the consistently terrible and energetic methods of the leaders of the Mountain. In times of revolution those who would triumph must decide upon a course of action and constantly pursue it. Leaving out of consideration the right and wrong of the methods of the French Revolution, it is probably true that the same fanaticism which conducted the Reign of Terror against foes within France was the force which ultimately conquered her foes from without.

Cities in the south of France, — Lyons, Marseilles, Bor-

deaux, and others, joined the insurrection which the Girondists instigated, and royalists endeavored to make use of the movement against the republic by arraying themselves with the insurrectionists and enlisting the services of the King of Sardinia. Cities in the interior and the Vendéans in the west were in insurrection. The Prussians were endeavoring to invade from the north and the Piedmontese from the south. The French armies were beaten on both sides. It seemed for a moment as though the dangers to the Convention from all sides were overwhelming. The success of foreign armies against France at this time, if one may judge from the fate of Poland, would have meant the partition of France; so the newly founded republic was obliged to meet foes from within and without with all the energy of despair. To add to the peril of the situation, about this time England enacted a most extraordinary measure. A blockade was pronounced against all ports of France. All neutral ships bringing provisions were to be confiscated. This was doubtless intended to starve the people into submission.

Dangers on all sides.

The Triumph of the Convention. — But the Convention, instead of being overwhelmed by the multitude of its dangers, arose with all the greater vigor against them. In the autumn of 1793, the constitution, which had practically been overthrown by the establishment of the republic, was formally displaced by a new one, often called the "Bread Constitution" of 1793. The latter



PROOFS-VERBAUX
CONVENTION NATIONALE
REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
1792

ÉGALITÉ, LIBERTÉ.

COMITÉ DE SALUT PUBLIC
DE LA CONVENTION NATIONALE..

Au nom de la République.

A tous les Corps administratifs, & Officiers civils & militaires.
Laissez passer librement le Citoyen André Toussaint Do, Courier Charge d'deux dépêches pour les représentans près l'armée du Rhin et pour le Sénat *natif de* Fontainebleau *Département de* Seine et Marne *âgé de* 33 ans *taille de* 5 pieds 6 pouces *cheveux et sourcils* Brun *front* Couvert *nez* grand *yeux* Gris *bouche* moyenne, menton rond, visage oval *allant de* Paris à l'armée du Rhin à Strasbourg

Le présent Passe-port valable pour le temps de la Course *seulement*

Fait au Comité de Salut Public, le 2e Juin 1793, *l'an second de la République Française.* Une et indivisible

Billaud Varenne Carnot Hérault Robespierre

Passport issued by the Committee of Public Safety, signed by four of the most prominent members.

conferred the right of suffrage upon every citizen of the age of twenty-one. In the older constitutions, electors did not vote for Deputies, but for those who should choose the Deputies. In the new one, every elector voted directly. The legislative body was to be a single chamber, and its members to be chosen for one year at a time. It is unnecessary to give the further provisions of this constitution, for it was suspended as soon as it was made, the dangerous situation in France requiring the power to be in the hands of a very few.

In the spring of 1793, a Committee of Public Safety had been appointed. This was remodeled in July, and the leaders of the Mountain were made members of the committee. The acts of the committee were both energetic and terrible. It ordered the arrest of all suspected persons, and by suspected persons it meant all who were not known to be ardent supporters of the republic. Many former friends of constitutional monarchy and many moderate republicans, who had taken no part against the republic, were thus imprisoned for months, or years, and thousands of them executed by the guillotine after the merest pretence of a trial. The Convention decreed also the "*Levée en masse*" of the people for the defence of the country. A speech of Barère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, demanded that the whole nation take part in the defence: "The young men to fight; the married men to make arms and transport provisions; the women to make tents and clothes; the children to make lint and band-

Levée en masse.

ages; the aged to sit in public places and excite the courage of the young."

In order that no enemy of the Revolution should be confounded with its friends, certificates of citizenship were issued which all republicans were to carry as proof of their identity, and, as in ancient Athens, poor citizens were allowed pay from the public treasury for attending public meetings. These energetic measures resulted immediately in military triumphs everywhere. The insurgents in the interior of France were defeated, and the French armies not only drove back the Germans but invaded German territory.

Republican calendar.

To counteract the blockade declared by England and to prevent the rise in prices, a law called the "Maximum" was enacted, which definitely fixed the prices of articles of necessity. To further separate themselves from the old *régime*, the whole calendar was reconstructed. The months were named anew as follows: Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, Nivôse, Pluviôse, Ventôse, Germinal, Floréal, Prairial, Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor.* The year began with Vendémiaire, on September 22, 1792. Each month consisted of thirty days, and was divided into three decades of ten days each, named by their number:

* The meaning of these names may be given in English as the month of vintage, fog, frost, snow, rain, wind, blossom, flower, meadow, harvest, heat, fruit. Some one has wittily translated the names as follows: —

Autumn, — Wheezy, sneezy, freezy,
Winter, — Slippy, drippy, nippy,
Spring, — Showery, flowery, bowery,
Summer, — Wheaty, heaty, sweety.

Primidi, Duodi, Tridi, Quartidi, Quintidi, Sextidi, Septidi, Octidi, Nonidi, Decadi. The remaining five days of the year were to be devoted to festivals of genius, labor, actions, rewards, and opinion.

Queen Marie Antoinette before the Revolutionary Tribunal.
(After drawing by Bouillon.)
She was executed October 16, 1793, at 4 A.M.
The presiding officer is Herman. Fouquier-Tinville sits at the table in the foreground; at his right is Hébert.

Conflicts of Faction. — For several months following the arrest of the Girondists in June, 1793, and until after their execution * and that of Marie Antoinette, there

* Twenty-one of the Girondist leaders were executed on October 31, 1793. From the moment of their arrest until their heads fell they displayed a courage and stoicism characteristic of the times. They continued singing the "Marseillaise," with a diminishing number of voices, as one by one they were placed under the fatal blade.

was little conflict among the aspirants for leadership. The Convention, the Commune of Paris, and the Committee of Public Safety worked in harmony toward the complete obliteration of the old and the establishment of the new. During this period the Committee of Public Safety, from having been obliged to conduct all measures of defence, had come to be the predominant power of the republic. From November, 1793, however, until the end of Robespierre's leadership in July, 1794, we can see little but the strife of factions and of individuals. The faction which had its center of operation in the Hôtel de Ville was opposed to the Committee of Public Safety and the Convention. It assumed the republic to be based upon extreme local democracy, and caused the Commune to set up for itself various means of opposition to the tremendous power of the Convention and more particularly of the Committee of Public Safety.

Christian Religion abolished. — In addition to introducing political anarchy, the leaders of the Commune desired to overthrow the Christian religion, probably quite as much from the fact that religion formed a bond of union for all France as from a desire to substitute some other form of worship. After the assassination of Marat, Hébert and Chaumette were the chief leaders of the Commune. Hébert was the editor of a paper called "*Père Duchesne*," which was so vile, obscene, and cruel in its sentiments, that it not only excited the multitude to demand more victims for execution, but made sport of the unhappy victims themselves.

The faction following Hébert determined to force the Convention to decree that the Christian religion should be abolished, and the worship of Reason substituted for it. The archbishop of Paris and some other priests were induced to go before the Convention and, in a formal way, renounce their oaths of office and lay down their authority as Christian priests. The Convention had already endeavored to show a disinterested spirit by decreeing freedom to all forms of worship. However much it might have been disposed to object to the serious innovations of the worshipers of Reason, in fairness to its own decree it could not refuse to submit to the establishment of a new religion. In Paris and other parts of France, churches were converted into temples of Reason. The inauguration of this substitute for the Roman Catholic religion was held in the church of Nôtre Dame in Paris, with great ceremony and pomp, and worship was offered to a well-known woman who represented the goddess of Reason.

Worship of Reason.

The Committee of Public Safety became alarmed at the power of the faction which had inaugurated this worship. Robespierre attacked it in the Convention. In his speech he declared that ultra revolutionists, like Hébert and others of the Commune, were enemies of the republic, that their follies and extravagances were as injurious as foreign conspiracies, and the Convention, at his demand, decreed that "all violence and all measures opposed to the liberty of religion are prohibited." One of the outrages perpetrated by the Hébert faction had

been the destruction of the royal tombs in the Church of of St. Denis. The bodies of the buried kings were taken from their resting-places and thrown into the sewers, and their skulls kicked about by children as playthings.

Maximilien Robespierre.
Born at Arras, May 6, 1758. Beheaded at Paris, July 28, 1794.
(After a bronze medal in the Cabinet of Medals.)

Robespierre at the Summit of his Power. The Terror. — Up to this time the interests of Robespierre and Danton had been identical, but now that the safety

of the republic seemed to be assured, their ways began to diverge, for Danton was desirous of abating some of the excesses, while Robespierre took a position between the fanatics of the Commune and the new party headed by Danton. Robespierre was master in the Jacobin Club, and hence had influence, through its affiliated clubs, in all parts of France. He was sure of a majority in the Committee of Public Safety, and through it could command the Convention. He first made use of the Danton faction to accomplish the arrest of Hébert and his allies and to have them executed.

There is little doubt that the majority of the Parisians, and of Frenchmen in general, were relieved at the removal of these ruffians, but when Robespierre showed that he was also about to rid himself of Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and others of the less violent republicans, people began to tremble at his dictatorship. Danton was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. His defence was so powerful and logical, and appealed so strongly to the members of the Tribunal and the crowd, that he was on the point of being acquitted when the Convention cut short his defence by declaring the termination of the trial. On the 5th of April, 1794, Danton, Desmoulins, and others accused of moderation, were guillotined, and the fickle mob cheered as it had at the death of the king. Desmoulins had been chief of the popular orators in the Palais Royal in the summer of 1789 and one of the instigators of the attack on the Bastille. Danton had been

Danton and Desmoulins executed.

among the first of the republicans and had organized the massacres of September. Yet these men died accused of being *too moderate* in their views.

It would seem that Robespierre had now no one to question his supremacy in the state. The Commune, the Committee of Public Safety, the Convention, all obeyed his will unquestioningly. Through the spring of 1794 hundreds of victims perished. Among them were Madame Elizabeth, sister of the king, Malesherbes, who had defended the king at his trial, and others who had taken an active part in the earlier period of the Revolution. The Terror was by no means confined to Paris. Commissioners of the Convention were sent to various parts of France to conduct executions of those who were said to be suspected. The prisons in all France were filled and emptied again and again. The cities of Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons suffered terrible vengeance for their insurrection against the Convention. At Toulon and Lyons the inhabitants were ranged in battalions and mowed down with grape shot. Lyons incurred the special displeasure of the Convention by admitting foreign troops to assist in its insurrection, and the Committee of Public Safety decided that Lyons should be "obliterated, and a monument placed over its ruins to mark the fate of those who war against liberty." The destruction of the city was actually begun, and millions of francs spent in destroying public buildings and the mansions of the

The Terror in the provinces.

wealthy. Fortunately a reaction against the Terror came before the city was entirely demolished.

Among all the cruelties in Paris and the provinces, those perpetrated by commissioners from the Convention, Carrier at Nantes, and Lebon at Arras, were the most wanton and terrible.

The Climax of the Reign of Terror. — For a few months after the fall of Danton, there had been no opposition to the authority of the Committee of Public Safety, and in the Committee of Public Safety itself there was no opposition to the authority of Robespierre.

What a change in the life of France, since, with high hopes, the States-General had assembled in 1789! Opposition to the Revolution had produced the downfall of one party after another, — Royalists, Constitutionalists, Girondists, the Mountain, and at last there was to be the fall of the Committee of Public Safety and of Robespierre himself! At each change the new tyranny seemed to be worse than the old. Certainly the domination of Robespierre was more cruel than that of any previous party or leader. There are many indications that Robespierre, when he had gathered all power completely into his hands, intended to establish a republic of the ancient type, in which simplicity of manners, austerity of character, and general fraternity among the citizens were to be the characteristics; but this ideal condition was certainly impossible after the terrible vengeance displayed against the better element of society by the lower classes.

Closely allied with Robespierre and willing to carry out any of his decisions were Couthon and Saint-Just. These three formed a sort of a triumvirate, which sought the ascendency over all other authorities. It did for a time terrify both the Convention and the Committee. Such a concentration of power was never seen in France even under an absolute king.

Triumvirate.

While the armies of the republic were victorious in all parts, and the commissioners from the Convention were maintaining the Terror in the interior of France, the Committee found leisure to propagate Utopian ideas. This movement was initiated by Robespierre, who delivered a speech before the Convention on the moral duties and reforms of a republic, and succeeded in bringing about the dedication of festivals to the virtues, — truth, justice, modesty, friendship, etc., and to the Supreme Being.

It is assumed that Robespierre believed that religious sentiment of some description was a national necessity, and by way of inaugurating a worship which should not be the old religion overthrown by the Revolution and yet which should be opposed to the excesses and immorality of the Hébertists, he had induced the Convention to decree the existence of the Supreme Being (18th Floréal). The formal ceremony of establishing the worship of the Supreme Being was on the 20th Prairial (8th of June), 1794. The people, although they were submissive to Robes-

Festival of the Supreme Being.

pierre's domination, had secret hopes that this religious ceremony would end the bloodthirsty character of his rule. But they were destined to disappointment, for, in the speech he made as high priest of the new religion, he advised them to give themselves up for one day to pure delight, for on the morrow the struggle against vice and tyranny must be renewed.

It was to be the duty of the president of the Convention to conduct the ceremonies, so Robespierre was elected president that he might inaugurate the religion which he had advocated. The Assembly, headed by Robespierre, marched through the streets. The members were magnificently dressed, each holding flowers and ears of corn in his hand. The great prominence given to Robespierre in this ceremony, added to the fear caused by his unopposed supremacy, started a movement which was to end in his downfall.

No man could become so prominent as Robespierre without incurring the same risk of assassination as Marat. Two attempts to assassinate him were foiled. One of them was by a young girl who probably was desirous of repeating the work of Charlotte Corday. While endeavoring to obtain access to Robespierre, she was arrested, and, after a brief imprisonment, was guillotined.

Robespierre himself began to feel that the Terror had gone far enough, and was intending to begin a new era, which should be the "Reign of Virtue"; but the more bloodthirsty friends of the Hébert faction and

members of Danton's former party, and all who were shocked at the cruelty of Robespierre's system, were on the watch for the opportunity to overthrow the dictator.

The day of the celebration was only a halt in the strife of faction. The Revolutionary Tribunal, which had been in operation since 1793, had, heretofore at least, used the forms of trial. A new law was proposed (immediately after the celebration of the worship of the Supreme Being) which was intended to expedite the punishment by death of so-called suspected persons. "All tardiness," said Couthon, "is a crime; all indulgent formality a public danger. There should be no longer delay in punishing the enemies of the state than suffices to recognize them." Mignet says: "Hitherto the prisoners had counsel; they had them no longer. The law furnishes patriot jurymen for the defence of calumniated patriots; it grants none to conspirators." Before this time, each person had been tried by himself; now they were to be tried in masses. The Tribunal was divided into sections, and more justices and juries added, with public accusers to assist them. Even members of the Convention might now be tried upon an order from the Committee. Persons brought before the Tribunal were simply identified and sent to the guillotine. Fifty or more persons were executed daily.

Increased severity.

For about two months this climax of the Reign of Terror existed; but no people could be expected to endure such a system for a great length of time. The marvelous

power of Robespierre began to be feared by his closest associates. Some of his former supporters in the Commune and certain members of the Committee of Public Safety set about accomplishing his downfall. The people of Paris who were ready for insurrections still believed that Robespierre was the best representative of their interests, and the armed force under the leadership of Henriot was ready to support him. He was still the strongest member of the Jacobin society, and had taken care to have all important offices assigned to his supporters.

Robespierre's influence wanes.

The Passing of Robespierre. — An insignificant circumstance, which at any other time would have been simply absurd, gave Robespierre's enemies just now an opportunity to attack him. An old woman called Catherine Théot made certain claims as a prophetess, and claimed, or some of her followers claimed for her, that she was the mother of God. The public adopted the farcical inference that Robespierre was her son, and hence the Messiah. This conceit was probably launched by the enemies of Robespierre, rather than by the sect of fanatics. In any case it was sufficiently annoying to Robespierre to make him refrain for a short time from appearing in public meetings of the Convention, although he regularly attended the Jacobins and harangued the club against his enemies. He even began to fear for his own life, and went about with a body guard. This, of course, added to the impression that he was assuming

the dictatorship. When he said in the Convention that "all corrupt men must be expelled from the Convention," they knew that he was making his last effort to rid himself of all possible opposers. By these "corrupt men" he meant the leaders of the Mountain, the friends of Danton, several of them members of the Committee of Public Safety. These demands went too far, and invited resistance. There seemed to be no chance of his accomplishing his purpose through the Convention, and now for the first time he determined to make use of a popular insurrection.

The leaders of previous insurrections against the Legislative Assembly and the Convention — Danton, Marat, etc. — were now dead. The conspirators for this insurrection in behalf of Robespierre were Saint-Just and Couthon in the Committee, the mayor of Paris, some officers of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and Henriot, the "commander of the armed forces." On the 3d Thermidor (21st of July, 1794), Robespierre, in the Jacobin Club, said, "A few scoundrels disgrace the Convention." The next day he went further: "The Convention, gangrened by corruption and being wholly unable to recover itself, cannot save the republic; both must perish." By the advice of Saint-Just, Robespierre commenced the attack in the Convention itself, in order that when it should be resented he might have an excuse for heading an insurrection. So, on the 8th of Thermidor (26th of July), he ascended the tribune and denounced the Committee of Public

Safety. He called upon every portion of the body with which he supposed himself to have any remaining influence to support him. For support in his attack upon the Committee of Public Safety, he appealed in desperation to the Girondists who still survived, to the members of the Mountain, whose leader he had executed, and to all others whom he had ever attempted to dominate. He closed his speech with a rather ambiguous appeal: "Purify the Committee itself. Construct the unity of the government under the supreme authority of the Convention. Crush every faction under the weight of national authority, and establish on their ruins the power of justice and liberty."

Robespierre attacks the Committee.

For the first time no applause greeted his oratory. But after some minutes the silence was broken by a member rising to propose that the speech of Robespierre should be printed. Then discussion and agitation followed with great vehemence. The discussion as to whether the speech should be printed or not gave the Convention an opportunity of expressing its opinion about Robespierre without directly attacking him. The Convention seemed anxious to throw off the domination of the Committee. "The time is come," said one, "to revive liberty of opinion and to revoke the power of the Committee to arrest representatives of the people." While it was evident that this idea was popular, courage was lacking for a direct attack upon Robespierre. Robespierre's speech was first ordered to be printed and

then the order was rescinded. In spite of the objection of Robespierre that this course would involve the submission of his speech to the judgment of his enemies, it was sent to the committees for examination.

The same evening, Robespierre, at the Jacobin Club, recounted the events of the day in the Convention and inspired enthusiasm in his behalf. The next day his friends were to assemble at the Commune and the Jacobin Club, in order to be ready for all emergencies, while Robespierre himself was to appear in the Convention again.

All parties in the Convention now seemed to be gaining sufficient courage to be ready to attack the dictator and his friends.

There was evidently about to be an open warfare between the Convention on one side and the Paris Commune and the Jacobins on the other. The Mountain made friends with the Right, and speeches made by Robespierre's estranged colleagues in the Committee of Public Safety were heartily applauded by the members and by the people in the gallery. Open attacks against Robespierre were now urged by the general cry, "Down with the tyrant!" One member said that he had learned at the Jacobin Club of a plot for an attack upon the Convention, and that he was himself prepared to assassinate Robespierre if the Convention should be afraid to impeach him. All this was in the Convention, and Robespierre was a listener. He attempted several times to ascend the tribune to defend

himself, but was forced to silence by the cries of "Down with the tyrant!" and by the ringing of the president's bell. He became furious with anger at the interruptions, and, after a vain attempt to appeal to the galleries and to the members of the Right, he returned to his seat completely exhausted. The Convention now rose to the point of daring to decree his arrest. Augustin Robespierre arose and demanded to be arrested also, saying that he was as guilty as his brother, and would share his fate. Lebas made the same demand. The arrest of the two Robespierres, Couthon, Lebas, and Saint-Just was unanimously decreed.

Robespierre's last appeal.

During the recess of the Convention, from half past five in the evening until seven, the supporters of the Triumvirate had been gathering at the Commune and at the Jacobin Club. The alarm bells were sounded, troops called out, and every preparation made for an attack upon the Convention. Henriot ran through the streets, haranguing the multitude and urging them to come to the Commune to save the country. He was arrested, but was shortly afterward liberated by his friends. Robespierre and those arrested in the Convention had been sent to different prisons. The communal officers sent detachments of the insurrectionists to liberate them, and they were taken in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville.

The Convention reassembled at seven o'clock, learned of the activity of the insurrectionists, and of the rescue of

the prisoners, and set about preparing for its own defence. The Sections of Paris were appealed to by both sides. The citizens were in doubt for a little time as to which side they should support, but, when the agents of the Convention explained the situation, the battalions * came to defend the national representatives. Henriot had already failed to induce the cannoneers to fire upon the Convention.

Citizens support the Convention.

It was nearly midnight when the citizens undertook the offensive against the Commune.

Meantime the conspirators were assembled in the Hôtel de Ville, and the building was completely surrounded by their armed supporters. Anticipating victory, the conspirators had already made their plans for assuming the entire government of France. But little progress had been made, however, before the troops from the Convention arrived, and a few cries of "*Vive la Convention!*" dispersed the defenders of the Hôtel de Ville. The fickle multitude, prepared to support the conspirators, now sided with the victors. The chief conspirators were surrounded, one succeeding in committing suicide, the others, including the two Robespierres, Couthon, Saint-Just, and Henriot, were captured. The next day, after being identified at the Revolutionary Tribunal, they were sent to the scaffold. Robespierre was the last to be placed under the fatal blade. The cheers that rose

The Convention triumphs.

* Armed bands from the Sections.

as his head fell indicated the joy of the people that the Reign of Terror was ended.

It is possible that had the Robespierre faction triumphed, the Terror would also have ceased, as it would have no longer been necessary; but his downfall most certainly was the beginning of a movement toward moderation.

It is difficult to estimate properly the character of Robespierre. It is said that he was not naturally of a bloodthirsty disposition. His personal life is said to have been pure, and his willingness to send so many victims to death to have resulted from the firm belief that it was a political necessity. Whatever may be the truth, Robespierre, more than any one else, is sure to be held responsible by the world at large for the ghastly period of the French Revolution known as the Reign of Terror.

The Thermidorians.

The 27th of July, 1794, known in the Republican calendar as the 9th Thermidor, was the beginning of the period of reaction toward the establishment of legal order and the independence of the legislative body. The leaders in the Convention who had accomplished the overthrow of Robespierre and the Commune were therefore known as the Thermidorian party.

The Reaction against the Terror. — Although Robespierre had been removed, France was not yet free from the conflict of parties. The party supporting the Committee and the Thermidorian party, which had combined to overthrow Robespierre and his accomplices, had no

sooner succeeded in this than they began to differ on other questions.

The Revolutionary Tribunal, which had been the instrument of so much bloodshed, was attacked, and while it was not abolished at this time, it was reorganized and many new members added to it. The condemnation of several at a time was no longer permitted, and the usual safeguards in trials were reëstablished. The Committees of Public Safety and of General Safety were also reorganized, so as to be dependent on the Convention rather than dominant over it, and the Sections of Paris, which had been meeting every day, were now permitted to meet but once in ten days. Thus the daily discussion of public affairs was no longer a constant incentive to insurrection.

Two or three attacks upon certain members of the Committee of Public Safety were at first unsuccessful. These members defended themselves by claiming that Robespierre had been responsible for all the cruelty. The Convention found little opposition, however, in proceeding against the commissioners who had made themselves so odious in the provinces. The worst of these were Lebon and Carrier. The first had been sent to the northeastern frontier and the second to Nantes in the west, for the purpose of restraining all suspected persons. Although it was intended that of those in prison many should be executed, both Carrier and Lebon had far exceeded any instructions given them. Carrier had even

Atrocities of commissioners.

undertaken the extermination of the people in his district. The ordinary modes of execution did not work rapidly enough to suit him, and hundreds of victims were drowned in the river Loire, by being placed in boats with false bottoms. The grewsomeness of these executions was increased by the sport that was made of them. Men and women were tied together in pairs and drowned, and Carrier facetiously called these "republican marriages." There were in the Paris prisons at the time of the revolt against Robespierre a number of people from Nantes. When these were tried and acquitted, the evidence that they gave regarding the proceedings of Carrier in Nantes was sufficient to cause his condemnation shortly afterward. Lebon was also properly punished for the atrocities he had committed.

Jeunesse Dorée.

As Robespierre and the committees had heretofore been supported by the armed forces, the custom was continued after his downfall, and the Convention was supported by an armed body of young men called "Jeunesse Dorée" (gilded youth). This body often came into collision, on the public streets, with those who still adhered to the opinions of the Terror under the leadership of the Jacobins. Paris continued for some time to be a field of battle between armed factions, and the Convention felt that the destruction of the Jacobin Club was necessary to completely restore its own authority. Violent speeches were made in the Convention against the Club, and the Jeunesse Dorée attacked it in its own clubhouse, breaking windows

and throwing stones. The Convention began the attack by forbidding any correspondence between the Jacobin Club in Paris and its branch societies in the departments. Soon gathering courage, it officially closed the Club and took possession of its papers and documents. The restriction on its correspondence had greatly limited

Closing of the Jacobin Club in the night of July 27, 1794.
(After water-color by Duplessis-Bertaux.)

its power, so that when the final attack was made it was much easier to succeed.

The Convention seemed now to be returning along the road by which it had come to the Terror, and undid as far as possible its acts of tyranny. It, of course, could not restore to life those who had been executed, but it did recall into its body the members who had pro-

tested against the arrest of the Girondists, and, after gaining more confidence, even recalled to itself those proscribed Girondists who had escaped execution.

Recall of the Girondists.

Many of the most tyrannical decrees were repealed, particularly those against the priests and nobles, and the law of the "Maximum," which had fixed the price of necessities. The reaction was not confined to decrees alone, but extended to throwing down the idols of the multitude. The body of Marat, which had been placed with honor in the Pantheon, was now thrown out in disgrace, and his busts, which had adorned all public halls, theaters, and the Convention itself, were removed. The Girondists again became the leaders in this counter revolution, and every effort was made to suppress the violence of the populace. There was almost as much popular enthusiasm at the dethronement of the Terrorists as there had been when the Terrorists triumphed over the Girondists. Although the power of the Paris Commune had been destroyed, the dispersed Jacobins could still rely upon the support of the *faubourgs*.* This was cordially given, because prices were now much higher on account of the removal of the Maximum. To aggravate the situation, the paper money had been issued in such vast quantities that its value had fallen so that even the possession of abundance of assignats could scarcely save their owners from actual

High prices of food.

* Suburbs.

distress. A Committee of Subsistence, appointed by the Convention, was unable to supply Paris with provisions.

When the friends of the former leaders of the exasperated multitude were brought to trial, the hungry mob seized the opportunity to attack the Convention. They came toward the hall, demanding "Bread, the Constitution of '93, and the liberation of the imprisoned patriots." The first insurrection failed, but its failure only tended to exasperate the mob still further. In a few days they again returned, and this time invaded the hall of the Convention itself, creating the greatest tumult and disorder. The Paris "Sections" were summoned, and again rescued the Convention. The members of the committee whose trial had caused this uprising were sentenced to transportation instead of death, but the *faubourgs* were not yet conquered.

Insurrection.

These extreme democrats had one other complaint. They now took up in earnest the demand for the operation of the Constitution of '93. This was the constitution, ultra-democratic in character, which had been suspended as soon as made. The Convention felt that to reënact this constitution would lead them toward another Terror, and yet hesitated to bring on excitement by its repeal. The *faubourgs* again attempted by insurrection, on the 1st Prairial (20th of May), 1795, to force from the Convention the establishment of this democratic constitution. Warned by their recent failures, they forgot nothing which this time would lead to success.

The Convention, while discussing means for its defence, was invaded by the vanguard of the mob, crying "Bread and the Constitution of '93!" The ordinary officers of the Convention were unable to defend it. One of the Deputies was murdered, and his head, placed on a pike, was shaken in the face of the president. Many of the members having fled, the mob took possession of their seats and voted as though they themselves were members of the Convention. They decreed the liberty of their imprisoned friends, the establishment of the democratic constitution, and the opening of the Jacobin Club. Their triumph did not last long, however, for again the "Sections" of Paris came to the rescue of the Convention and the hall was cleared. The next day the *faubourgs* renewed the attack, but retired without a conflict, having received the promise of the Convention that the Constitution of '93 would soon be put in operation. This promise, however, was merely to gain time. The Convention succeeded in punishing the leaders of this last insurrection, disarmed the *faubourgs*, abolished the Constitution of '93, and thus brought an end to the tyranny of the multitude.

"Sections" save the Convention.

The Republic at War with Europe. — We should not lose sight of the fact that during the time of this reaction in Paris the armies were successful in repelling the invasions of combined Europe and even in carrying the principles of the Revolution beyond the borders of France. The man who deserves the praise for the vic-

torious movements of the army is Carnot. He was a member of the Committee of Public Safety and acting minister of war, and general of all the armies. He was known in the annals of the Revolution as the "organizer of victory." The English, Dutch, and Austrians were defeated in the Netherlands and driven back until the republican armies entered Holland. Farther south the enemies were all driven beyond the Rhine. Cologne, Bonn, Spires, and Worms were captured. The Spaniards, who had invaded from the south, were driven back to their own country, and the vast coalition organized against the French Revolution was everywhere defeated.

The news of the downfall of Robespierre did not alter the organization of the army, as had the previous changes in the government of Paris. The leaders were all republicans, and, beyond the fear that Robespierre's downfall would end the government of the people, no objection was made by the army to submitting to the new civil authority. The army in Holland allied itself with a party there which was opposed to the stadtholder, and assisted in proclaiming popular sovereignty and establishing the Batavian Republic on the model of the French Republic.

Peace with Prussia and Spain. — This alliance of Holland with France not only deprived England of a powerful supporter, but so alarmed Prussia that a separate peace between Prussia and the French Republic was concluded at Basle in 1795. Spain also was forced

to demand peace and to recognize the French Republic. The troops at the disposal of France as the result of the two treaties now invaded Italy.

Insurrection directed by Royalists. — Since the defeat of the Jacobins and the Commune the various branches of the royalist party began to feel that their turn was about to come, and, although there were divisions among them, they united for the time to take advantage of the counter revolution. The next insurrection against the Convention we shall see directed by royalists, instead of democrats. England assisted a royalist conspiracy for the overthrow of the republic. In the spring of 1795, several hundred "emigrants" and several thousand republican prisoners, who for the time professed themselves to be on the side of the royalists merely for the opportunity of returning to France, were carried by the English fleet to Quiberon. But this expedition was successfully opposed by General Hoche, for the republican prisoners left the "emigrants" as soon as a conflict began. This armed invasion by the royalist "emigrants" having failed and the European coalition being defeated, the next attempt of the "emigrants" was to conspire with the discontented portions of Paris against the new constitution, which was prepared by the Convention in August, 1795.

SECTION II.

The Directory, 1795–1799.

The Directorial Constitution. — This new constitution was really better adapted to the needs of France than either of the others which had preceded it. It was intended to establish a moderate republic in place of the ultra-democratic one, and so restore the prominence of the middle class of society. The royalists now thought that they might more easily be elected to the legislative body and obtain a share in the government. The new constitution differed but little in spirit from the Constitution of 1791, but was far better devised to maintain a balance of power between different parties. The legislative power was divided into two councils, called the Council of the Ancients and the Council of the Five Hundred. The executive power was called the Directory, and was composed of five members. The members of the Council of Five Hundred must have attained the age of thirty years and those of the Council of Ancients (numbering two hundred and fifty) forty years. Secondary election was reëstablished, with the intention of checking the extreme influence of the populace.

The power of veto, which had been given in the first constitution to the king, was in the directorial constitution given to the Council of Ancients, and the executive authority was vested in five persons, because the people

were fearful of a return to royalty, and would have been suspicious of a single person. Each member of the Directory was to hold the position of presiding officer three months, and every year one of the members was to be replaced by a new election. Altogether this constitution was so well planned that, if any could have succeeded at this period of the history of France, this would have been the one. But in reality the government of the Directory lasted but little longer than those that preceded it.

Two thirds to be reëlected.

The Convention, in adopting the new constitution, decided to guard against the fatal error of the Constituent Assembly in depriving itself of election to the new legislative body. In order that a majority of the new councils should be composed of men experienced in government and who were devoted to the policy of the Convention, a decree was passed providing that two thirds of the members of the present convention should be elected members of the new councils. If this was not legal, it certainly was wise to provide against the sudden invasion of the legislative power by either ultra-democrats or royalists.

The Insurrection of Vendémiaire. — The decree establishing the election of the two thirds was to be submitted to the ratification of the people at the same time as the constitution itself. The royalists who had hoped to be elected to the councils, and thus again find a way into power, received a decided check to their

ambition in the provision for the reëlection of a large portion of the existing body. They now commenced a conspiracy with some of the discontented "Sections" of Paris against the Convention. The conspirators announced that all constitutional power ceased when the people were assembled, and actively began the organization of an insurrectional government which should attack the Convention, overthrow the new constitution, and prevent the election of the two thirds. The Convention took more active measures for its defence than it ever had done heretofore. A body of troops was brought to guard the Convention hall, and a committee was appointed to take charge of the public safety.

On the night of the 11th Vendémiaire (October 3, 1795) one of the "Sections" beat the call to arms and decreed against "the return of the Reign of Terror and the despotism of the Convention." During the 12th this insurrectionary force gathered still further recruits, and on the 13th the attack began in earnest.

Bonaparte appears.

But a new style of defence had been prepared. Barras, who was the chief of the Committee of Defence, had called to his assistance a young officer of artillery who was as yet wholly unknown. His only practical military experience had been in the siege of Toulon, where he had successfully directed the bombardment of the English fleet. Later he had been dismissed from the service under the imputation of being a friend of Robespierre. This man was Napoleon Bonaparte. In Paris, without occupation, he

had made the acquaintance of Barras, and by him was intrusted with the preparations for the defence against this new insurrection. He believed in no half measures. He sent for artillery to sweep the streets in every direction from the Convention hall. The trembling fear of the mob which had been heretofore displayed was not to be seen on this occasion. From whatever side the insurgents attacked they were met by discharges of artillery and a murderous musket fire. The Convention triumphed in every particular. The royalists were for a time thoroughly defeated, and the opportunity was given the Convention to proceed with the formation of the new councils and the Directory without further interference.

Last Work of the Convention. — One third of the members of the council were elected as provided in the constitution, and the Convention made up the other two thirds from its own members. The Directory was composed of Laréveillère-Lépaux, Sieyès, Rewbell, Letourneur, and Barras. (Sieyès refused the office and was replaced by Carnot.)

The Convention had lasted three years, from September, 1792, to October, 1795 (4th Brumaire, year IV). This long period of violence had included civil and foreign war; the bitter conflict of faction had even at times turned the legislative body itself into a bloody battlefield. But certainly experience had been gained which could not fail to prove valuable in the newly organized form of the republic.

Changed Social Conditions under the Directory. — From the beginning of the States-General in May, 1789, up to the establishment of the Directory in 1795, there had been a continual conflict between the classes, each endeavoring to control and govern the others. At the beginning the courtiers and nobles sought to dominate. Under the first constitution the middle classes were all-powerful. During the period of the Convention it was the populace which controlled the legislative and military forces of the nation, terror being the weapon. People became wearied with the constant ferment, and the government of the Directory began a new epoch in the revolutionary period. Heretofore all private life had been abandoned for public life ; every thought had been for the republic, and education, religion, and industry were neglected for the national interests or entirely forgotten. Now, under the Directory, men began to think again of business, civilization, and society. No longer fearing the guillotine, people, to atone for the long period of constraint, turned to balls, receptions, theaters, and all forms of amusement. The members of the government were left to manage the government, and no serious interference took place.

Attempted Insurrections. — To be sure, there were two or three endeavors at insurrection in the old manner, but they were unsuccessful. A small remnant of the old Commune, which had been all-powerful during the Reign of Terror, began to hold meetings at the Pantheon and planned an insurrection which they said was to establish common happiness, distribute property more

equitably, and form a government of absolute democracy. But the conspiracy was betrayed, and the leader, Babeuf, and his accomplices arrested. Before their trial their partisans made one more attempt, which was also foiled. These conspirators, at their trial, behaved in a bold and spirited manner, which recalled the bravery of the Girondists when taken to the guillotine. They sang the "Marseillaise" at the beginning and end of each sitting of the court, and endeavored thus to inflame the public mind. When condemned to death they stabbed themselves.

There was one more feeble attempt at insurrection by the royalists, but this scarcely proceeded beyond its beginning.

Activity of the Directory. — The republic's resources were in a very bad condition when the Directory began its labors. There was no money in the treasury; the assignats were discredited and so far below par as to be practically valueless. The victorious progress of the armies had ceased with the change of government and did not begin again until the Directory became firmly established. The troops were destitute of necessary supplies; the soldiers were in rags, poorly paid, discontented, and without discipline.

Such was the poverty of the new government that when the Directors met for the first time in the palace of the Luxembourg they were obliged to borrow a few rough pieces of furniture from the janitor. They began their task, however, with heroism. They an-

nounced to the legislative bodies that they were organized, and proceeded immediately to divide the departments of administration among themselves in such a way that each one of the Directors superintended the branches of government for which he was best adapted. Agents were sent to all the departments, and soon a uniform administration was established thoughout the country. Relief was soon felt from the scarcity of provisions which had begun with the abolition of the Maximum, and agriculture and industry were again pursued. Public places and clubs, which had been thronged by the population during the period of the Convention, were now abandoned, for the people returned to their shops and fields. The schools which had been decreed were organized, and greater efforts made to encourage religion. For a time a form of religion called "Theophilanthropie" was supported, in the belief that it would harmonize the two factions which had believed in the worship of Reason and of the Supreme Being. This, however, was too artificial to secure a large following.

Renewed Military Activity. — The attention of the Directory was at once turned to the reorganization of its military force. A certain General Pichegru, who probably intended treason to his country, allowed himself to be defeated at Heidelberg. This exposed the frontier to the enemy. The Vendéans once more began civil war. General Hoche was appointed to pursue with vigor the conflict with the Vendéans, and the remainder of the forces was divided into three armies, under General Jourdan on the north, Moreau on the

Rhine, and Bonaparte on the southeast toward Italy. Peace had been made by the Convention with all the enemies of the republic save England and Austria. General Hoche, by diplomacy and vigorous military measures, succeeded in putting an end to the civil war by June, 1796. The plan for the three armies on the eastern frontier was that Moreau and Jourdan should attack the Austrians by way of Germany, while Bonaparte should fight his way through Italy and march upon Vienna, meeting the other generals as soon as he had crossed the Alps.

For about two years all the measures of the Directory seemed to meet with success. The insurrections of democrats and royalists had been prevented, the civil war completed, and the armies sent to invade Europe were also triumphant. Bonaparte, by his brilliant campaign in Northern Italy, began to astonish the world. Indeed, his military expeditions and his other achievements so thoroughly engrossed the whole of Europe for twenty years that the biography of Napoleon Bonaparte becomes the history of a continent.

Bonaparte's Italian Campaign. — Austria was then head of the coalition against France, and was the enemy which must be defeated. The northern part of Italy was under the domination of Austria, hence it was in Italy that Austria could be best attacked. When General Bonaparte was first appointed to the command of the army of Italy, he found the soldiers without pay, destitute of food, clothing, and all of the comforts of

life. Inured as they were to hardship, and being under capable leaders developed from among themselves, they only needed to be imbued with the spirit of the energetic young general to accomplish wonders. Bonaparte's bulletins to his soldiers, from the beginning of his command in Italy to his downfall at Waterloo, were messages of inspiration, which nearly always fired his troops with the most desperate energy. His speech to the troops upon taking command at Nice, while frankly admitting the inability of the government to pay them or to furnish supplies, inspired them by holding out the idea of great glory and much plunder to be found in the fertile plains of Italy. With less than forty thousand soldiers, starting out ragged and ill fed, one of the most marvelous campaigns ever fought was brought to a triumphant conclusion by the employment of a new method of warfare. Up to this time nations had fought with each other by scattered divisions of the army fighting with similarly scattered divisions of the enemy, and by general average results the victory was determined. Bonaparte began the method of using his whole force at the one important point, and then by rapid movements striking the enemy anew with his whole army. By this means he gave the impression of having at command a much larger force than he really possessed. With less than forty thousand troops he undertook to march across Italy and invade Austria, while the enemy had nearly double this number.

New method of warfare.

Creation of the Italian Republic. — General Bonaparte first imposed peace upon the king of Sardinia, then turned eastward. The governments of the Italian states were all opposed to the French Republic, but the sentiment of the people of these states was in favor of it. He announced to the people through whose country he marched that he had come to offer them liberty, and as rapidly as he drove back the Austrians the territory was organized into republics. The Cisalpine Republic, with Milan as its capital, was thus set up. Certain portions of the papal territories were added to the new republic. Venice and Genoa had been aristocratic republics. Their aristocracy having favored the European coalition against France and having attempted to attack the French army in the rear, Bonaparte changed their governments to democracies, and thus gained the support of the popular power against the old nobility. By these means the principles of the French Revolution were carried across the Alps.

Popularity of Bonaparte.

In his rapid march across the north of Italy, three opposing armies were destroyed. The spoils of war were enormous, and the soldiers, better clad and now well paid, became enthusiastic as they followed their brilliant young general. The battles of Arcola and of Rivoli are the most famous in the campaign.

Bonaparte and his army crossed the Alps at the northeast of Italy on the route to Vienna, and forced

the Austrians to sign at Léoben in Styria the preliminaries of a peace by which Belgium (the Austrian Netherlands) was to be ceded to France and the independence of the Cisalpine Republic to be recognized. The coalition, which had been defeated by every government of France since the overthrow of King Louis XVI, was now ready to make peace. France had advanced her frontiers and organized upon her boundaries young republics, and seemed likely to spread republican doctrine as far as her armies should penetrate into Germany.

Opposition to the Directory in the Councils. — The Directory, in its endeavors to govern by legal methods, found itself opposed by the royalist party, which was constantly endeavoring to obtain entrance into the government. By the constitution, one third of the legislature must be renewed each year. In May, 1797, a large number of those favoring the royalist cause were elected. This, together with those hostile to the Directory who were elected at the beginning of the constitution, formed a majority opposed to the Directory in the two councils, and this majority began soon aggressively to oppose the government. They elected Pichegru, the would-be traitor, as president of the Council of Five Hundred, and another royalist president of the Ancients. The member of the Directory chosen in this year, while not exactly a royalist, was not enthusiastic for the republic. The whole government of the administration was openly attacked in the councils. Every fault that could be found with the policy of

the Directory was vigorously discussed. The councils attempted by certain popular measures, such as decreeing liberty of the press and economy in financial affairs, to gain the support of the mass of people. While the people appreciated their reforms, they did not agree with the plans of the royalists, which they secretly suspected. The councils discussed and, in some cases, passed laws tending to the restoration of the forms of worship entirely as they had been before the Revolution, and to the reinstatement of the priests without requiring the oath to the constitution. Many "emigrants" returned, and these, together with members of the councils, formed a political club, called the "Club of Clichy." The Directory drew to its support a portion of the army by establishing a camp nearer Paris than the law allowed. There was about to be open warfare between the Directory and the royalists. The mass of the people remained merely spectators of the conflict. Two members, Carnot and Barthélemy, of the Directory, while not perhaps favoring the royalists, were not willing to go beyond legal methods in suppressing them. The other three members, Barras, Rewbell, and Laréveillère, were determined to support the government by any methods necessary.

Schemes of royalists.

Talleyrand a Director.

Harmony between the councils and the Directory was attempted by means of a change of some of the ministers. One of the ministers introduced at this time was Talleyrand, former

bishop and member of the Constituent Assembly, later an "emigrant," and now returned since the establishment of the Directory. Having been a member of several parties already, he now joined the one which seemed to have the hope of victory and favored the Directory.

General Bonaparte, while absent on his campaign, kept himself informed of all that was going on in Paris. Whether he intended at this time to lead any movement against the government, it is difficult to say, but he sent one of his generals, Augereau, to Paris with an address from his troops. This address was a threat against the royalists, and implied that the army would return from Italy if the royalists should attempt to seize the power. The royalist majority of the councils planned to attack the Directory, by ordering the troops farther away from Paris and impeaching the three Directors who opposed them. This project, of course, would be within the legal power of the councils. The government must now triumph over the councils planning to destroy it, or be itself destroyed. The crisis came on the 18th Fructidor, year V (September 4, 1797).

Coup d'État of the Directory. — The three Directors caused troops to come into Paris during the night between the 17th and 18th, to arrest a number of the members of the councils, and to take possession of their place of sitting, and thus prevent their meeting on the morning of the 18th. Proclamations of the Directory were posted on the walls of Paris, announcing to the people that a conspiracy had been discovered and

thwarted, and appointing the School of Medicine and the Odéon * as new places of meeting for the councils. The people on the morning of the 18th, after reading these proclamations, remained entirely quiet, merely as spectators of the events. There was none of the tumult of popular insurrection. The Directors caused the remainder of the councils to legalize their extraordinary proceedings and to punish the royalist members as conspirators. Transportation, however, was the worst penalty inflicted. No executions took place. About fifty members of the councils were thus proscribed, together with Carnot and Barthélemy of the Directory. Many editors of opposition papers were also sentenced, the elections of forty-eight departments annulled, and the laws which had been passed favoring "emigrants" and priests revoked. These victorious measures, while not exactly legal, accomplished the ruin of the royalist party without the violence and blood of the insurrectionary methods of the earlier part of the Revolution. This was the fourth time the royalists had been defeated since 1789.

Peace with Austria. — The preliminaries of the peace which had been arranged with Austria at Léoben were ratified as a treaty at Campo-Formio, in October, 1797. This was but a short time after the *coup d'état* of the Directors against the councils. Now France was at peace with all the world except England.

* The School of Medicine and the Odéon Théâtre are on the south side of the Seine, near the Luxembourg.

Reception of Bonaparte in Paris. — There was no further necessity of Bonaparte remaining in Italy, so he returned to Paris. So great was the enthusiasm of the people at the sight of the successful general that the Directors felt him to be a danger to themselves. It was impossible for them to take any measures to restrain the people in their enthusiasm, and they felt themselves obliged to assume the lead in a grand public ovation to the young general who had contributed by his most brilliant victories to the spread of republican principles and the downfall of France's most bitter enemy.

A grand celebration was given at the Luxembourg, in which the Directors, dressed as ancient Romans, surrounded by ministers, ambassadors, and high officers, received the great hero. Cannons, drums, trumpets, and shouts announced his approach. The slender young man, with quiet face and dignified manners, produced by his appearance the most striking sensation. Talleyrand introduced the young general, who made a speech to the people. Barras, representing the Directory, made a speech also, in which he said that England was now the only enemy of France and should be the next point of attack by the brilliant young commander.

Directory fears Bonaparte.

There is little doubt that the Directors desired to be rid of the young man whose popularity was so great that he seemed likely to be regarded by the people as more important than the Directory itself. There were even rumors afloat that he intended to seize the government,

and it was suggested at once that Bonaparte should be sent on a military expedition which would take him out of the country, and should attack England, France's only enemy. The proposition was made that he should go to Egypt and march east to attack the English possessions in India. This would be striking England in her tenderest point, as it would interfere with her great commerce and give to France the enormous resources of a Mediterranean traffic.

The Expedition to Egypt. — In May, 1798, a French fleet sailed from Toulon on the southern coast of France, bearing about thirty thousand soldiers and a large number of scientific men. The troops under the command of General Bonaparte expected to add to the fame the had already gained in Italy by brilliant deeds in the East, while the scholars were to add to the glory of France by their researches in the lands of ancient civilization. Among the latter was Berthollet, a famous chemist, who was instrumental in founding the Institute of Cairo. Others of the scientific men, through their studies of the monuments of Egypt, laid the foundation for the marvelous discoveries which have since been made concerning that ancient nation.

The fleet, having halted a day to capture the island of Malta, landed near Alexandria, Egypt, in July. Little resistance was encountered in taking possession of Alexandria, and Bonaparte hurried forward toward Cairo. On the way, the Mamclukes were defeated at the famous Battle of the Pyramids, which victory of the French in-

spired such terror among the people that the city of Cairo surrendered without offering resistance.

French fleet annihilated.

An English fleet under Nelson had left the Spanish coast in May, with the purpose of opposing the French expedition, but it passed the ships of the French in the night and reached Alexandria before them. Not finding his enemy, Nelson scoured the Mediterranean for a month, and on August 1, returning to Egypt, found the French fleet in Aboukir Bay. In the battle, which took place at once, nearly all of the ships which had brought the French army to Africa, were annihilated.

Bonaparte seemed little disturbed by this great calamity, and went calmly on to organize the political and industrial affairs of the country.

In February, 1799, he began to march his army across the desert into Syria, where he gained over the Turks a few victories which were more brilliant than valuable, but in May he abandoned the siege of Saint Jean d'Acre and retreated with a diminished army toward Cairo, where he arrived in June. In July he gained a great victory over a powerful Turkish army at Aboukir, near where he had suffered the loss of his ships.

There was little now that could be done to aid the French cause in Egypt, and probably nothing that General Bonaparte could do to add to his own fame. These reasons, and others, probably including the one that a longer delay might result in disaster, led him to the determination to return to France.

New Coalition against France. — At the time of the departure of the expedition to Egypt the power of the Directory had reached its highest point. The treaty concluded with the Austrians at Campo-Formio had made peace with the last foe on the Continent. England alone remained as an enemy, and even England made some propositions for peace, probably insincere. It is more than likely that the Directory could not have maintained itself longer during a general peace, for its financial measures at home were not popular, and its strength depended entirely on the success of the French armies. Hence to retain its authority, war, and successful war, seemed the only means.

As England was the only enemy, and could not well be attacked without a large fleet, the expedition to Egypt was decided upon. This was really an attack upon the Turkish Empire, for Egypt was a part of it. Turkey was thus easily induced to join the new coalition soon formed, under the lead of England, by Russia, Austria, Turkey, and most of the smaller powers of the Continent, except Spain and Prussia.

The French invade Switzerland.

Many French "emigrants" having taken refuge in Switzerland, the Directory, after first making a complaint, invaded Switzerland to drive them out. As a reason for this invasion they could point to an invitation by one of the cantons to assist it against the tyranny of the aristocracy of Berne. The Swiss confederation was conquered, Geneva attached to France, and Switzerland made to

establish a republic under a constitution similar to that of France. About the same time a conflict with the Papal government caused Rome also to be changed into a republic. France was now bordered on the east and south by republics; the Helvetian (Switzerland), the Batavian (Holland), Ligurian (Genoa), Cisalpine (North Italy), and Roman (part of Central Italy), were all patterned after the French Republic.

New Party Strifes and War. — It would seem that no French government could long defend itself against the attacks of parties. The Directory had triumphed over the royalists. Now, in 1798, the extreme republicans again became annoying. The Directory felt itself forced to the extremity of annulling a large portion of the elections of this year. This, of course, was unconstitutional, and laid the Directory open to charges of revolutionary methods. There were also dissensions within the Directory itself. Disasters of all kinds came thick and fast.

While the French plenipotentiaries were negotiating peace at Rastadt with the German Empire, the new coalition, just mentioned, began its campaign. The French plenipotentiaries, surprised at the sudden war, started for home, but, in violation of their safe conduct, they were assassinated.

France was once more at war with nearly all Europe. Two hundred thousand men were added to the armies by conscription. The attacks of the coalition began along the Rhine and against the Italian republics. The French succeeded, however, in sub-

duing the king of Naples, who had advanced toward Rome, and turned the government of Naples into the Parthenopean Republic. But the coalition was, in general, so successful in attacking Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, that France itself was in danger of invasion.

Le 9 Floréal de l'an 7, à neuf heures du soir, le Gouvernement Autrichien a fait assassiner par ses troupes les Ministres de la République française, BONNIER, ROBERJOT ET JEAN DEBRY, chargés par le Directoire exécutif, de négocier la paix au congrès de Rastadt. VENGEANCE!!!

Placard posted in Paris immediately after the Assassination of the French Plenipotentiaries, at Rastadt, 1799.

Approaching Collapse of the Directory. — With the dissensions in the Directory and the uncertainty produced by the new elections of 1799, the French government was brought into a most perilous position. Barras, the only member of the Directory of 1795 who still retained office, was little inclined to exert himself for the good of the country. Two new members, Sieyès and Roger Ducos, were opposed to the legislative councils,

and really anxious to bring an end to the government of the Directory. It was certain that in its present condition it could not long exist. Sieyès, one of the men prominent in the Constitutional Assembly of 1789, was just the man to inaugurate some new form of *coup d'état.* He found himself supported by one Director and in the main by the Council of Ancients, while the directorial constitution was supported by two Directors, the Council of Five Hundred, and a republican club formed of the disbanded members of earlier clubs. Thus, with two Directors on one side, two on the other, and Barras neutral, a conflict of some kind was sure to occur. Up to the time of the overthrow of Robespierre, these conflicts had taken the form of popular insurrections, but after that time the regular soldiers had been employed. Sieyès, to carry out his plan, must have the assistance of some successful general. Whatever was to be done must be done quickly, for with the successes of the coalition the royalists of the south and west began to bestir themselves.

Return of Bonaparte. — Every ambitious person and party seemed to be prepared to seize the government when the Directory should fall. General Bonaparte in Egypt had kept himself informed of the state of affairs in France. His brother Lucien was a member of the Council of Five Hundred. The reports of the brilliant campaign in Egypt and Syria filled the public mind with longing for its idol, Bonaparte. Sieyès had thought of calling upon General Joubert, but Joubert was killed in

Italy. Several other generals who might have served his purpose were, for various reasons, unavailable.

General Bonaparte, although he had won several victories in Egypt which were brilliant in themselves, saw that they would lead to no great permanent results. His fleet had been destroyed by the English in Aboukir Bay, and, determined to be upon the scene when the plots in Paris should culminate, he left the army in Egypt to the command of Kléber and returned to France, bringing with him a few officers, favorite generals, and personal friends. Although the Mediterranean was patrolled by all the English fleet, he succeeded in crossing without conflict. From the moment he landed in France until he reached Paris, his journey was an ovation. The renown already acquired by his conquests in Italy had been increased by the highly colored reports from the East.

The Coup d'État. — Sieyès and Bonaparte were not such men as would naturally ally themselves with each other, but in the opinion of Sieyès there was no general so capable of inspiring popular enthusiasm as Bonaparte. It seemed best for Bonaparte if he would aspire to power to ally himself with the only member of the existing government who seemed willing to lead in its overthrow. The alliance was formed.

Under pretence that the legislative bodies were in danger from reviving Jacobinism, Sieyès undertook to get the Council of Ancients to ask General Bonaparte to protect them by moving them to St. Cloud. The

Ancients, hastily convoked, fell into the trap, and Bonaparte was thus placed at the head of the military force. This was a long step in advance for the conspirators, but there still existed the Directory and the legislative bodies. Sieyès and Roger Ducos, conspirators with Bonaparte, sent in their resignation as Directors. Barras of his own accord did the same thing.

Three Directors resign.

It was then represented to the Council of Ancients that the Directory had ceased to exist, inasmuch as only a minority of its members remained. The Council of Ancients was easily stampeded into calling upon General Bonaparte to "save the country." The Council of Five Hundred, however, under the presidency of Lucien Bonaparte, was not easily managed. When General Bonaparte walked into the hall where the Five Hundred were sitting, he was received with cries of "Down with the dictator; outlaw him," etc. Lucien in indignation flung himself from the president's chair when the council proceeded to outlaw his brother.

This was the moment which determined the trend of European affairs for many years. The slightest hesitation would have caused the failure of the whole project and General Bonaparte would probably have been punished as a conspirator. But the troops surrounding him needed little urging to march in and clear the hall of the Council of Five Hundred. The executive and legislative branches of government were no longer in existence. The *coup d'état* had succeeded.

A provisional government was announced, composed of three consuls, Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos.

General Bonaparte in the Council of Five Hundred, 19th Brumaire, Year 7 (November 9, 1799).
(After a picture by Bouchot in *Musée du Louvre.*)

These men, with two legislative commissioners, undertook to prepare a new constitution and maintain order.

SECTION III.

The Consulate.

Establishment of the Consulate. — The *coup d'état* of the 18th and 19th Brumaire (November, 1799), while resulting chiefly in the advancement of General Bonaparte, was, nevertheless, the outcome of the plan of Director Sieyès, and in the first place was his victory, rather than Bonaparte's. Sieyès had long desired to make the constitution, and now he had his opportunity. He brought to the provisional government a complete outline of a constitution, and administration for France. The minuteness of its mechanism makes it now rather a legislative curiosity than a real scheme of government, and yet it was Sieyès' constitution, modified by Bonaparte, which served as the foundation of the monarchy under the name of the "Consulate," and to the building up of the empire. Sieyès' plan was to so organize a government that it would be impossible for the people to again seize the sovereignty or to overthrow the republic. All France was to be divided for different purposes into communes and also into departments. The whole state was also to be a political unit. The primary electors, instead of choosing officers, were to elect candidates from whom officers were to be chosen. There were to be two consuls, one for peace and one for war, but above them, without having power over their acts, there was to be a great elector who was to represent

Sieyès' plan.

the country in an ornamental way, receive foreign ambassadors, and preside on ceremonial occasions.

General Bonaparte, now thoroughly determined upon obtaining for himself the most important place in the government, refused to accept the ornate position provided for him by the constitution of Sieyès, and, while approving in general of the machinery of the constitution, he so altered the administrative department that the first consul would center in himself all appointing power, and the other two consuls hold merely the position of advisers. In this form the constitution was put before the people for acceptance.

About a month after the *coup d'état*, the Consulate was regularly established, having been accepted by over three million voters. This was nearly equal to the total number of votes cast for both the constitutions of 1793 and 1795. The new order of things was popular with all classes. People were so weary of excitement and the constant contention for power between factions that they hailed with delight any government which promised stability and peace. Far-sighted statesmen might, perhaps, have prophesied the centering of all power in Bonaparte, but for the time, at least, they rejoiced at a government which promised a cessation of constant social upheaval.

Coup d'état popular.

The Administration of the First Consul. — After propositions of peace made by the First Consul to England and to Austria, which were rejected, the active campaign against the coalition again began. As the

PROCLAMATION

DU GENERAL EN CHEF

BONAPARTE.

Le 19 Brumaire onze heures du soir.

A mon retour à Paris, j'ai trouvé la division dans toutes les Autorités et l'accord établi sur cette seule vérité que la Constitution était à moitié détruite et ne pouvait sauver la liberté.

Tous les partis sont venus à moi, m'ont confié leurs desseins, dévoilé leurs secrets, et m'ont demandé mon appui. J'ai refusé d'être l'homme d'un parti.

« Le Conseil des Anciens m'a appelé, j'ai répondu à son appel. Un plan de restauration générale avait été concerté par des hommes en qui la nation est accoutumée à voir des défenseurs de la liberté, de l'égalité, de la propriété: ce plan demandait un examen calme, libre, exempt de toute influence et de toute crainte. En conséquence le Conseil des Anciens a résolu la translation du Corps législatif à Saint-Cloud; il m'a chargé de la disposition de la force nécessaire à son indépendance. J'ai cru devoir à mes concitoyens, aux soldats périssant dans nos armées à la gloire nationale acquise au prix de leur sang, d'accepter le commandement.

Les Conseils se rassemblent à Saint-Cloud: les troupes républicaines garantissent la sûreté au dehors. Mais des assassins établissent la terreur au dedans: plusieurs Députés du Conseil des Cinq-cents, armés de stylets et d'armes à feu, font circuler tout autour d'eux des menaces de mort.

Les plans qui devaient être développés, sont resserrés: la majorité désorganisée, les Orateurs les plus intrépides déconcertés, et l'inutilité de toute proposition sage évidente.

Je porte mon indignation et ma douleur au Conseil des Anciens, je lui demande d'assurer l'exécution de ses généreux desseins, je lui représente les maux de la Patrie qui les lui ont fait concevoir: il s'unit à moi par de nouveaux témoignages de sa constante volonté.

Je me présente au Conseil des Cinq-cents; seul, sans armes, la tête découverte, tel que les Anciens m'avaient reçu et applaudi, je venais rappeler à la majorité ses volontés et l'assurer de son pouvoir.

Les stylets qui menaçaient les Députés, sont aussitôt levés sur leur libérateur; vingt assassins se précipitent sur moi et cherchent ma poitrine: les Grenadiers du Corps législatif, que j'avais laissés à la porte de la salle, accourent, se mettent entre les assassins et moi. L'un de ces braves Grenadiers *(Thomé)* est frappé d'un coup de stylet dont ses habits sont percés. Ils m'enlèvent.

Au même moment, les cris de *hors la loi* se font entendre contre le défenseur *de la loi*. C'était le cri farouche des assassins, contre la force destinée à les réprimer.

Ils se pressent autour du président, la menace à la bouche, les armes à la main: ils lui ordonnent de prononcer le hors la loi. Son m'avertit: je donne ordre de l'arracher à leur fureur: et six Grenadiers du Corps législatif s'en emparent. Aussitôt après, des Grenadiers du Corps législatif entrent au pas de charge dans la salle, et la font évacuer.

Les factieux intimidés se dispersent et s'éloignent. La majorité soustraite à leurs coups, rentre librement et paisiblement dans la salle de ses séances, entend les propositions qui devaient lui être faites pour le salut public, délibère, et prépare la résolution salutaire qui doit devenir la loi nouvelle et provisoire de la République.

Français, vous reconnaîtrez sans doute, à cette conduite, le zèle d'un soldat de la liberté, d'un citoyen dévoué à la République. Les idées conservatrices, tutélaires, libérales, sont rentrées dans leurs droits par la dispersion des factieux qui opprimaient les Conseils, et qui, pour être devenus les plus odieux des hommes, n'ont pas cessé d'être les plus méprisables.

Signé BONAPARTE.

Pour copie conforme: ALEX BERTHIER.

A PARIS, DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE LA REPUBLIQUE Brumaire an VIII.

fleet of France had been destroyed in the Mediterranean, the only way to defeat the coalition was by attacking Austria in Germany and in Italy. During the last year of the Directory, Austria was once more triumphant in Italy, and nearly all the fruits of Bonaparte's earlier victories were lost. General Moreau was sent with an army eastward on the north side of the Alps, while the First Consul himself, with an army of forty thousand, descended into Italy. Within a month the Austrians were completely crushed, and the one battle of Marengo added more to the reputation of the brilliant young commander than any of his previous campaigns, as well as restored the influence of France in Italy and the re-establishment of the republics dependent upon France.

Peace with Germany and England.

Moreau was successful also, and in January, 1801, the treaty of Lunéville restored peace with Austria and the German Empire. The next year the treaty of Amiens made peace with England.

France, now at peace with all the world, naturally felt intensely grateful to Bonaparte, the Consul. He turned his attention to the necessary measures for internal prosperity and the permanent establishment of his government. An unsuccessful attempt to assassinate him, organized by "emigrants" who had taken refuge in England, made his life all the dearer to France. He made friends with the Church by allowing priests to reëstablish worship and by giving them pensions from the national treasury.

Such an opportunity had not occurred for a lawgiver in many centuries. The turmoil of the last ten years had really swept away all the institutions of France, and a compilation and reorganization of the codes of law was undertaken. Criminal, civil, and commercial codes were completed, which after the establishment of the empire were called the "*Code Napoleon*." "General peace, universal toleration, the return of order and restoration of worship, and the creation of an administrative system soon changed the appearance of the republic. Attention was turned to the construction of roads, and finally civilization was developed in an extraordinary manner."

Internal improvements.

All the measures which tended to settle and organize France tended also to the building up of the personal power of the First Consul. In 1802 two measures were put into execution, powerfully effective in this direction. These were the Concordat and the establishment of the Legion of Honor. The first was an arrangement made with Pope Pius VII, by which the Church undertook to administer the reorganized religious worship and to renounce all claim to the property which had been already confiscated by the state. New bishops and archbishops were to be appointed and placed under the direction of the pope, but they were to be nominated by the French government. A pompous service was held in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, to inaugurate the Concordat.

Membership in the Legion of Honor was to be awarded for great merit of any kind. Those who had received distinction for military, scientific, literary, or other achievements formed a superior class. The First Consul was himself the head of the order. Although persons in any walk in life might attain membership, the institution itself seemed to forshadow the restoration of nobility.

Consulate for life.

In gratitude to the First Consul for his organizing ability and for the benefits he had conferred upon the country, the legislative bodies proposed to reward him by increasing the length of his consulate. In August, 1802, there was presented to the people for their votes the proposition that Napoleon Bonaparte be First Consul for life. More than three and a half million votes were cast for it. The constitution was slightly modified to conform with the new arrangement. All these changes tended toward permanence. The electors also were to retain their positions for life. Now the clergy, the Legion of Honor, the officers of administration, the legislative bodies, were all adherents to and under the power of the First Consul.

Section IV.

The Empire.

The Consulate changes to an Empire. — The island of Elba and the territory of Piedmont were added to France. England, which had probably not intended a

permanent peace, was thus given an excuse for reopening the war. A new conspiracy against the life of the consul, hatched in London, made the French feel that something else must be done to perpetuate the present administration, so that with a little assistance on the part of Bonaparte himself, the senate was led to propose the establishment of an hereditary empire with Napoleon Bonaparte as emperor.

The change from the Consulate to the empire was not a great one except in form. The power which the emperor possessed differed little from that which he had exercised as consul, but the formalities and ceremonies about the seat of government were far greater. Outwardly it appeared that the title of emperor was offered him spontaneously by the senate, but we know that the senate was really a creature of his own. Nevertheless it cannot be said that the people or officials objected to the creation of the empire, for after the senate had offered the title to the First Consul in May, 1804, there was a vote upon the subject open to all the people, and over three and a half million votes were cast in favor of the empire. In order to make the inauguration of the new dignity more impressive, the Emperor Napoleon invited Pope Pius VII to officiate in the ceremonies of coronation. This service took place with the greatest pomp on the 2d of December, 1804, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

The Coronation.

It was not military force alone which elevated Napoleon to the empire. His first distinction, to be sure,

was earned by his feats of arms, but his internal administration during the consulate had turned the admiration and affection of a large portion of the peace-loving population toward him, so that all France may be said to have rejoiced at the elevation of their chief magistrate to the rank of emperor. The French people were gratified at the return of royal ceremonies about the court and the reëstablishment of ancient customs. However great had been their desire for republican simplicity for a time, they were certainly, on the whole, better satisfied with the return of ceremony and splendor. The imperial court at the Tuileries in Paris outrivaled the old court of the Bourbons at Versailles. Most of the high offices in the court and council were filled by relatives and strong personal friends of the new emperor. The army was gratified by the creation of marshals of France. For the most part, these were the famous generals of the revolutionary period, and, as many of them had been men of obscure origin, it was evident that the highest honors were possible to every soldier.

People approve of Napoleon.

Thus at the beginning of the empire, army and people were satisfied, and rejoiced at the institutions which promised stability and permanence. The senate, legislative body, and tribunate which had existed under the Consulate were retained in name, but the tribunate was reduced in number and the legislative body was to discuss laws in secret. The senate was the most important political body. In it were all of the new high officers of the court,

and all members were to retain their seats for life. While all of this governmental machinery was so arranged as to retain the appearance of liberty of speech and free government, the various bodies were in reality merely the tools of the despotic emperor.

Proposed Invasion of England. — England was the only country with which France was at war at this time. Napoleon now established an immense camp at Boulogne, on the coast of the English Channel. Boats were provided with which to transport troops, and the best soldiers from all the armies were here collected. Possibly Napoleon seriously intended to invade England. At any rate his soldiers practiced embarkation and debarkation, and a fleet, composed largely of his Dutch and Spanish allies, was prepared to drive the English vessels of war from the channel. Before any direct attempt at invasion was undertaken, however, England had organized a new coalition with Russia and Austria, and whether Napoleon had seriously intended to invade England or not, his collection of troops at Boulogne was in the most convenient place for a rapid invasion of Germany.

Battles of Austerlitz and Jean. — The camp at Boulogne was broken up, and the army marched directly and rapidly toward the Austrian forces. With scarcely a check, Napoleon invaded Austria, took possession of Vienna, the capital, and, marching beyond, engaged the combined armies of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz, gaining over them the victory to which he always referred as the one of greatest importance in his military career.

It was fought on the 2d of December, 1805, the anniversary of his coronation. The sun shone out upon the field at the moment of his victory, and later he referred to the sun of Austerlitz as a good omen.

French fleet destroyed.

While Napoleon was on this campaign, his fleet which had been prepared for the channel met the English fleet at Trafalgar, on the southern coast of Spain, and was entirely destroyed. Napoleon, however, always felt that land victories were of greater importance than those at sea, and he marched on, after making peace with Austria at Pressburg, to conquer Russia.

Prussia, through whose territories he had marched to reach the Austrians, angered by this breach of neutrality, also took up arms, so that on the way to Russia another enemy was to be defeated. Frederick William III, king of Prussia, had undertaken to maintain the treaty of Basle, concluded by his father with the French Republic in 1795. This had guarded the territories of North Germany from invasion, and for ten years Prussia had kept out of all the coalitions against France and also out of any alliance with France. But Napoleon's indifference to all treaties, as though Prussia were too insignificant to consider, stung the Prussian king to resentment, and he marched out to meet the victorious emperor at Jena, in October, 1806.

War with Prussia.

To oppose the most brilliant and energetic commander of modern times, Frederick William had only the old generals who had been trained in the armies of

Frederick the Great and troops who had little or no experience in actual war. The defeat of the Prussians at Jena was more decisive than that of the Austrians at Austerlitz. The Prussians were stampeded. King, officers, and men vied with each other in making speed and distance from the field. Prussia, for punishment, was reduced to about half its size, and was permitted to retain only a small army as a national police force.

Treaty of Tilsit.

At the battles of Eylau in February and of Friedland in June of 1807, the Russians were defeated, and to discuss peace the emperor of France met the czar of Russia on a raft at Tilsit in the middle of the River Niemen. Alexander was so charmed by Napoleon at this personal interview that he became one of his warmest admirers, and a treaty was arranged which has been understood to have divided Europe amicably between them. France was to extend her power as she chose in the west of Europe, unmolested, while Russia was at liberty to be supreme in the east of Europe and be unopposed in any expansion into Asia. Although Frederick William III was nominally one of those who participated in this discussion of peace, it was at Tilsit that the humiliating terms for Prussia were decided upon.

War against Commerce. — Once more Napoleon was left with only England as a foe, but the destruction of the fleet put an end to all possibility of invading England. As it was the commerce of England which enabled her to spend the vast sums in subsidies to form

coalitions against France, Napoleon determined upon a drastic measure to ruin her commerce. As England had already excluded neutral commerce by decreeing a blockade from the mouth of the Elbe west and south to the limit of the French coast, Napoleon issued his famous Berlin decree in 1806, declaring the British Islands to be blockaded. All English merchandise found on the Continent was to be confiscated, and the ships of any neutral nations were to suffer in the same manner if they had touched at any British port. This might have been a deathblow to the power of England if Napoleon's forced allies upon the Continent had adhered to his continental system. But many articles of necessity came to the Continent from the British colonies. The other nations and even the French themselves constantly violated the blockade, and smuggling grew to be an immense business. The allies of France, suffering in their commerce, gradually grew lukewarm, and within a few years were willing to be organized again as her enemies.

Change of Republics to Kingdoms. — Very soon after France was changed from a republic into an empire, the republics modeled upon or created by France began to assume monarchic form. The authorities of the Cisalpine Republic offered Napoleon himself the crown of the kingdom of Italy. Accordingly, he went to Milan, and, with much ceremony, was crowned with the historic iron crown of Lombardy. His stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, was appointed viceroy of the new kingdom. The Batavian Republic was remodeled into the kingdom

of Holland, which accepted as king Louis Bonaparte, a younger brother of Napoleon. The former kingdom of Naples, which, since 1798, had been the Parthenopean Republic, was again changed to a kingdom, and Napoleon's elder brother Joseph crowned king. The German states of Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick and Hanover were formed into the kingdom of Westphalia under Jerome, the youngest of the Bonaparte brothers.

After peace was made at Tilsit in July, 1807, between France, Russia, and Prussia, Napoleon might well have regarded himself as a marvelous man, for his power had been felt in every country on the Continent. It is possible that if he had been content with this power disaster might not have overtaken him. If he could have thoroughly conquered England, his triumph would have been complete, but his only method of crippling that great maritime power was through her commerce. His Continental system must be enforced. Portugal was the only country on the Continent which had not agreed to comply with the Berlin decree. Her commerce with England seemed necessary to her existence, yet she was commanded by the French emperor to close her ports and declare war against England. Portugal showed no great eagerness to obey this high-handed order and was accordingly invaded by a French army. At the same time (October, 1807) a treaty was made between the Spanish minister Godoy and Napoleon. The southern part of Portugal was to be the possession of Godoy, the central

Portugal to be dismembered.

was to be held by France, and the northern part given to the king of Etruria in exchange for his own territory, which Napoleon intended annexing to the kingdom of Italy. Without the slightest resistance to the French invasion, the royal family of Portugal sailed for Brazil and set up an empire which endured until 1889. The only opposition offered to the French was by the English troops, which landed in the following summer (1808) under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley (later, Duke of Wellington).

By this time the French emperor had begun his interference in the affairs of Spain, which was fatal to any dreams he may have had of world empire. The king of Spain had been for years completely subservient to his minister Godoy, and Godoy had allowed Spain to serve French interests. The Spanish people both hated and distrusted Godoy, and in their hate and distrust were led by the Crown Prince Ferdinand. His was an utterly worthless character, but because he was opposed to Godoy he was regarded as the people's champion. Godoy and Ferdinand each sought Napoleon's influence against the other. King Charles IV weakly gave Godoy an order to arrest his son Prince Ferdinand, but soon after, on account of the fury of the populace, he abdicated in favor of the prince (March, 1808).

Napoleon interferes in Spain. — To leave Ferdinand on the throne was regarded as equivalent to inviting an English army into Spain. A few months later, in a conference with Napoleon at Bayonne, Ferdinand was

forced to restore the crown to his father, who at once resigned all his rights to the French emperor. Now the full design of Napoleon became apparent. He called his brother Joseph, king of Naples, to come and take the throne of Spain, which was apparently offered by a few of the Spanish notables assembled at Bayonne.

Nothing in favor of Napoleon's part in this whole affair can be said except that it was not politic to leave so near to France a dynasty sure to be hostile, yet could he have foreseen the outcome he would have realized that none of his acts up to that time would so rapidly lead to his downfall as this interference in Spain. Very soon the Spanish people realized the deception that had been practiced, and rose with a determination not to submit to the foreign government imposed upon them. English troops came to their assistance, and Napoleon himself was compelled to come to head the French army which was required to maintain Joseph on his throne.

There was no period of the few years 1808 to 1813, while Joseph was nominally king of Spain, that he was accepted by the entire Spanish people. The war against the French continued in the peninsula until after Napoleon's disastrous campaign in Russia, when his star was setting.

War with Austria. — In the spring of 1809, Napoleon's attention was withdrawn from Spain by Austria's hostile attitude. From April to July there was again war between Austria and France, but the rapidity of Napoleon's movements soon brought Austria low; Vienna

was once more in the hands of the French, and their victory at Wagram (July, 1809) reduced Austrian territory greatly, but the most significant feature of this reduction was that, although Bavaria received some contiguous territory, the Adriatic coast was taken by Napoleon himself, the better to maintain his blockade against England. This was a further step toward the goal for which he was striving, — to humiliate England by closing securely against her every part of the Continent.

One step followed another in carrying out this design. The pope's lands in Italy were seized in 1809, and in 1810 Holland was incorporated into France. King Louis Bonaparte had been working for the interests of his kingdom rather than those of his imperial brother. The commerce of Holland was ruined by the Continental system, and Louis, instead of being able to get relief from its severity, was compelled to admit French officers into his Dutch custom-houses. Humiliations of this kind were too great, and he resigned his throne. Napoleon not only absorbed Holland but the whole north coast of Germany, in order to be certain of the exclusion of British commerce.

High-handed enforcement of Continental system.

But one more step and Napoleon had reached, not the zenith of his ambition, but the moment of his highest power, the point from which the descent began. This was the alliance by marriage with one of the reigning families of Europe, which resulted in the birth of an heir to succeed to his vast empire.

Note the extended boundaries of France; Spain, Rhine Confederation, Kingdom of Italy, Kingdom of Naples, all dependent upon France.

Metternich had been made prime minister of Austria after the defeat of 1809. Although he was destined to spend many years in trying to overthrow all that had been accomplished by the French Revolution and by Napoleon, one of his earliest diplomatic acts was to arrange for the marriage of Marie Louise, daughter of the Austrian emperor, Francis I, to the emperor of the French. The Empress Josephine, who had married Napoleon as General Bonaparte in 1796, was divorced to make way for the new alliance.

Napoleon divorces Josephine.

France's Greatest Territorial Limits. — Now for a few months (in 1810) France had reached her greatest extent, Napoleon his greatest power. Parts of Germany and of Italy and all of Holland were joined to France. Jerome Bonaparte was king of Westphalia; Joseph was not yet driven out of Spain; Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat, was king of Naples; Prussia and other German states were submissive allies; Russia still adhered to the Continental system, and the emperor of Austria was bound by family ties to the great Napoleon. But the disintegration of the great fabric soon began. The Russian czar was irritated at Napoleon's enlargement of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the annexation of Oldenburg, the territory of a relative, and likewise at the Austrian alliance. Furthermore, the loss sustained from maintaining the Continental system was very great. All these causes of annoyance led Alexander to throw open his ports to British commerce and thus to invite war with France.

Peninsular War. — Although Napoleon had placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, he could not secure for him the loyal support of the inhabitants of the country. Insurgent bands, independently or in conjunction with the English, kept him constantly on the defensive. He was maintained only by French troops, and even their work was ineffective by reason of jealousies among the marshals and the lack of harmony between Joseph and Napoleon. Joseph desired, as had Louis in Holland, to rule an independent nation in the interests of his subjects, but Napoleon assumed that Spain was a part of his empire. Finally, in 1810, more troops were sent from France, and the conquest of the country was undertaken with vigor. The already devastated lands could furnish Joseph no supplies, and, on the other hand, Wellington was reinforced with troops from England. Thus the war dragged on with an occasional advantage on either side until 1813. No more help could now be expected from Napoleon, for he had suffered the fearful losses of the Russian campaign and had drawn troops even from Spain to fight against the last coalition in Germany. The result was that Wellington gained a decided victory at Vittoria, Joseph abandoned his unsteady throne, and the Peninsular War came to an end.

Russian Campaign. — Czar Alexander felt a grievance against Napoleon for establishing the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which seemed to be a forerunner of the reestablishment of Poland. Napoleon's complaint of Alexander was that he had broken his treaty by opening his

ports to English commerce. Napoleon prepared to invade Russia with an army of about four hundred thousand men, nearly two thirds of them being furnished by his allies. In June, 1812, he crossed the Russian border and thereby began the most calamitous campaign of modern times. Could he have used the same method of warfare which had brought him victory for sixteen years, that is, to strike rapid, stunning blows upon the enemy, no doubt similar results would have followed, but nature and man seemed to conspire against him. The roads were bad, distances great, and supplies difficult to obtain. The soldiers suffered from the heat and insufficient food, the inhabitants harassed the invaders continually, and the armed enemy continually retreated, drawing the "Grand Army" farther into a depopulated and barren country. Nothing could benefit the Russians and injure the French more than a continuation of these methods. Napoleon had already lost many thousands of men before a battle was fought. The Russian commanders saw they were gaining a victory by retreating, but the men were eager to fight. In August, and again in September, engagements occurred in which Napoleon gained dear-bought victories. He inflicted great loss on the Russians and they retreated, but his own losses could not be made good, and he gained only the doubtful advantage of being able to penetrate farther into Russia.

Difficulties of the French.

On the 14th of September Napoleon entered Moscow only to find it abandoned, as had been the villages along

the route. The next day or day after, a fire* started in a warehouse, and soon a large part of the city was in flames. The French soldiers were unable to stop the conflagration which raged for several days. The Russian governor had ordered the destruction of the city in order that it might not serve as winter quarters for the foreign foes. Napoleon seemed stunned by the disaster, and, for the first time in his military career, seemed undecided. He hoped that Alexander might be willing to make peace, for he dreaded the moral effect of retreat as well as the prospect of wintering his weakened army so far from home and supplies. For five weeks he thus hesitated and the hesitation was fatal, for winter begins early in the latitude of Moscow. On the 19th of October the retreat began. The Russian army prevented his taking any other route than the depopulated and desolate one along which he had come.

Napoleon enters Moscow.

The French retreat.

Snow began to fall, and intense cold set in. The story of the retreat is but a harrowing tale of misery and horror. Thousands of soldiers perished by starvation and cold. The wounded had to be abandoned, and the weakened, discouraged soldiers were constantly harassed by the Cossacks. The line of march was marked by the bodies of men and horses, by abandoned artillery and wagons. A shattered, broken remnant of

*Date doubtful. There is reason to believe it was already started by the Russians on the 14th, when the French entered. The fire continued four or five days.

the Grand Army which entered Russia in June recrossed the border into Prussia in December. More than two hundred thousand men had perished in the useless expedition. As much heroism was displayed in the terrible retreat as in pitched battles, and Marshal Ney won undying fame by his protection of the rear. Napoleon was, of course, responsible for the terrible disaster, and was also very much blamed for abandoning his retreating army in November, in order to hasten to Paris. A false report of his death had been circulated, and his return was to disprove this and to raise new troops. By means of the levy which was due by conscription in 1813 and by anticipating that of 1814, he collected another large army.

The Collapse of the Empire. — Early in 1813 Frederick William III, King of Prussia, who had been an ally of Napoleon and had furnished a Prussian contingent for the Russian campaign, found himself forced by his own subjects to take sides with Russia against France.

Last coalition against Napoleon.

Sweden joined this combination on being promised the annexation of Norway, which belonged to Denmark. The new French army, large enough but having insufficient artillery and cavalry and but few experienced soldiers, met the allies at Lutzen (May 2) and Bautzen (May 20 and 21) and was victorious. In August, Austria joined the coalition, a little later Bavaria also, and on the 16th and 18th of October was fought the battle of Leipsic, which, from the number of countries repre-

sented, has been called the "Battle of the Nations." The Saxon troops deserted Napoleon on the field of battle, and his other losses were so great that he was compelled to retreat across the Rhine. The Confederation of the Rhine collapsed, Jerome fled from Westphalia, and the former rulers of the territories composing that kingdom hastened to make peace with the victors.

About the same time the French were finally driven out of Spain. Holland was reorganized as a kingdom with the son of the former stadtholder as king.* Even Napoleon's brother-in-law, the king of Naples, signed a treaty with Austria and England. The empire was falling to pieces. The allies invaded France in the winter of 1814, and Napoleon met them with a small, hastily collected army, and, although there was no hope of ultimate success, he displayed courage and strategy equal to that of the time of his greatest achievements. The invaders entered Paris the last of March, and Napoleon at Fontainebleau, pressed by his marshals, and in the hope of saving France for his dynasty, abdicated in favor of his son, the king of Rome. This arrangement the allies refused to accept, and on April 11, 1814, he abdicated unconditionally.

Napoleon abdicates.

He was allowed to retire to the island of Elba, to retain the title of emperor, and receive an income of 200,000 francs from France.

Influence of France and the Revolution on Europe. It has been a common saying that for a quarter of a

* November, 1813.

century the history of Europe was a history of France and that for fifteen years the history of France was the history of Napoleon. This is a graphic manner of stating the immense influence of the French Revolution on European thought and political life, and of Napoleon's institutions on France and Europe. In 1789, when the Revolution began, the political and social relations of nobility and laboring classes were similar in most European countries. The ruling classes were in general shocked at the upheaval in France, and, fearing the same in their own country, joined the earlier coalitions to suppress the Revolution and French aggressiveness. But the French were victorious and their ideas of political and social rights were carried into the countries which they invaded. In the lands which were annexed to France, the forms and rights of feudalism were abolished and better systems of administration and law introduced. Although at the collapse of Napoleon's empire most of these territories were restored to their former rulers, it was beyond possibility to restore the inequalities of the worn-out feudal system.

Better administrative systems.

One of the direct effects of Napoleon's triumphs over Austria was the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire. This survival of feudal times had long since passed its period of usefulness. In a loose way it served as a bond of union to many central European states, chiefly German, but its overthrow cleared the way for the later creation of Germany and Italy on the basis of nation-

ality. The emperor had been chosen by electors who, since the fifteenth century, had invariably cast their ballots for the head of the House of Hapsburg, the ruler of Austria.

In 1804 Francis II was head of the Holy Roman Empire. His power at best was very little, and had been further reduced by the Diet at Ratisbon in 1803. Immediately after Napoleon's coronation as emperor, December 2, 1804, Francis added to his numerous titles that of "Hereditary Emperor of Austria," and in 1806 abandoned the title of Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire for "Francis I, Emperor of Austria." Thus disappeared the last vestige of Charlemagne's revival of the Roman Empire of the West. Little further change took place in Austria for half a century.

End of Holy Roman Empire.

But Prussia, the next largest German state, was profoundly affected, directly and indirectly, by the Revolution. Her king, Frederick William II, had joined the first coalition against France, but made a separate peace with the republic in 1795. This was not broken until 1806, when Napoleon's treatment of Prussia, rather as a vassal than as an ally, stung Frederick William III to a declaration of war.

The overwhelming defeat at Jena brought to light internal conditions which demanded immediate reform. Baron Stein, who became prime minister in 1807, caused the liberation of the serfs. The military system was entirely remodeled by Scharnhorst and

others.* It was part of Stein's plan to admit the people to a share in their government. Not much was accomplished toward this at the time, but enough was done, together with other reforms, to rouse a national spirit which grew strong enough by 1813 to force King Frederick William III into the War of Liberation. The most marked effect of the long period of French domination was the uniform system introduced into administration and law wherever French authority was maintained. Although the French system was abolished by the reaction after Waterloo, the traditions of political and legal equality were kept alive by the people and exerted much influence later, especially in Italy and Germany.

Reforms in Prussia.

SECTION V.

The Congress of Vienna and Its Work.

When Napoleon abdicated at Fontainebleau and accepted, for the good of France, a penalty that was apparently forced upon him, and went to the little island of Elba, a meeting of delegates of all the powers of Europe was held at Vienna, to establish, as far as possible, the conditions that existed before the French Revolution and to rearrange the territory which had been temporarily included in the French empire. In the midst of gayeties

* A very interesting account of this period in Germany is to be found in "The German Struggle for Liberty," by Poultney Bigelow.

and social excitements, the business was slowly carried on for many months.*

The Congress of Vienna attempted to restore to the original owners all the territories which had come under French influence. Of course the confederation of the Rhine was broken up, and the petty states given back to their former owners. The kingdoms of Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony, which had been created by Napoleon, were allowed to remain kingdoms. Indeed, those dukes who had been made kings would not have submitted without a war to the loss of their regal dignity.† The Congress at Vienna did not recognize that the world's ideas had changed in twenty-five years. The idea of nations governed by constitutions had come to stay, and yet these diplomats at Vienna would, if possible, have abolished every constitution on the Continent. The monarchs of the larger states were all anxious to increase their territory. Russia wished to incorporate Poland, and, in order that Prussia should not object, was willing that Saxony should be given to Prussia. This absorption of Saxony was deemed to be just, because the Saxon king had remained faithful to Napoleon. Talleyrand, who was the French agent at Vienna, contrived, however, to get

Vienna Congress reactionary.

*The victory of the allies at Waterloo and the acts of the Congress of Vienna marked the triumph of reaction over the principles of progress announced by the Revolution.

†The restoration in some of the little states even approached the ridiculous. William of Hesse attempted to ignore all the time that had elapsed since 1806. He recalled all officers and soldiers who had been serving him at that time; made them wear the uniform of the earlier date; had the soldiers' hair dressed in a queue, and even reprimanded the officers for having neglected to deliver their quarterly reports.

Austria and England to oppose these schemes of Russia and Prussia, even to the extent of being willing to go to war. Thus a compromise was effected which saved Saxony.

Prussia was not given back all of the property she had held in Poland, but was amply repaid for this by having territory along the Rhine added to her kingdom. This territory was German, and in the end its acquisition proved more advantageous to Prussia than would have been the possession of an equal amount of foreign lands. The Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) were given to Holland, and Holland and Belgium together now formed the "kingdom of Holland." Austria's loss of the Netherlands was more than repaid by the annexation of the northern part of Italy to Austria. Russia, England, Sweden, Switzerland, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Austria, Prussia, all received increase of territory. This was generally accomplished by attaching to them small states which had either ceased to exist or had been parts of France during the Napoleonic régime. In Italy the pope was restored to the sovereignty of the States of the Church. Naples and Sicily were joined together under Ferdinand, the former king of Naples, and were together called the "Kingdom of the two Sicilies." Piedmont, in the northwest of Italy, was increased by the former republic of Genoa and given back to Victor Emmanuel, the first king of Sardinia. Ferdinand VII was restored to Spain, where he undertook to abolish every progressive measure that had

Restoration in Italy.

been undertaken under the influence of France. The Holy Roman Empire, more properly the German Empire, had ceased to exist after the battle of Austerlitz, so that at the time of the Congress of Vienna there was no organization among the German states.

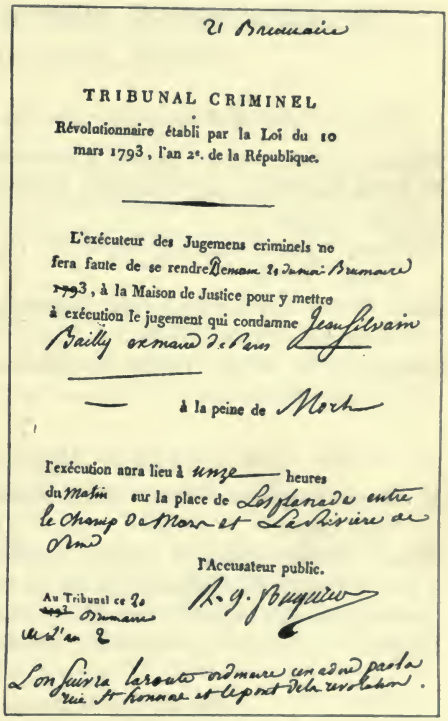
The Congress of Vienna decided to establish a confederation (*Deutsche Bund*). This was to be a loose alliance composed of kingdoms of every size, duchies, and independent cities, and to have a sort of semi-legislative commission called a "Diet" as the head of the organization. This Diet was to sit in Frankfurt. Owing to the unwillingness of the large states, Austria and Prussia, to surrender any of their independence, and the similar unwillingness, of course, on the part of the smaller states, this new German confederation had no force at all. The Diet busied itself for a long time in discussing absolutely inane questions, and, in fact, never accomplished a piece of legislation of any value. The only real benefit it ever conferred upon the world was in its own dissolution, about the middle of the century.

German confederation established.

Every effort was made by the Congress of Vienna and by Metternich, who was the great executor of all the decisions of this Congress, and by all the restored monarchs, to set the clocks of their territories back to 1789, before the people first demanded to be recognized as the ultimate source of power. How impossible this was must be evident to any one after a moment's thought.

Influence of Metternich.

How utterly such an attempt failed will appear as we consider the subsequent histories of the various nations through the nineteenth century. The fact that much had occurred during the revolutionary period which was wrong and to be deplored was not destined to make the people forget the good that had been accomplished in emancipating the population from mediævalism. The underlying ideas of the French Revolution were in general to dominate Europe, and the nineteenth century was to see the establishment of constitutional government in practically all of the civilized states.



TRIBUNAL CRIMINEL

Révolutionnaire établi par la Loi du 10 mars 1793, l'an 2e. de la République.

L'exécuteur des Jugemens criminels ne fera faute de se rendre

à la Maison de Justice pour y mettre à exécution le jugement qui condamne

à la peine de

l'exécution aura lieu à heures du matin sur la place de entre le Champ de Mars et La Rivière de Seine

l'Accusateur public.

Au Tribunal ce

Order for Execution of Bailly by the Guillotine.

Issued by the Revolutionary Tribunal and signed by the public accuser. The handwriting is all by Fouquier-Tinville.

(Collection of *Musée Grevin.*)

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING.

Single Volume Books on the French Revolution.

Mignet, "History of the French Revolution." Macmillan. $1.00.

H. Morse Stephens, "Revolutionary Europe, 1789–1815." Macmillan. $1.40.

Gardiner, "The French Revolution." (Epochs Series.) Longmans. $1.00.

Rose, "The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era." Cambridge University Press. $1.25.

Lowell, "Eve of the French Revolution." Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $2.00.

Books in Two or More Volumes.

H. Morse Stephens, "The French Revolution." Scribners. 3 vols., $7.50.

Fyffe, "Modern Europe." Holt. 3 vols., $7.50, or 1 vol., $2.50.

Taine, "French Revolution." Holt. 3 vols., $7.50.

Thiers, "History of the French Revolution." Lippincott. $8.00.

Carlyle, "The French Revolution." Various editions.

Books on Napoleon.

Sloane, "Napoleon Bonaparte: A History." Century Co.

Ropes, "The First Napoleon." Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $2.00.

Seeley, "A Short History of the First Napoleon." Little. $1.50.

Laufrey, "History of Napoleon the First." Macmillan. 4 vols., $6.00.

Rose, "Life of Napoleon I." Macmillan. 2 vols., $4.00.

PEOPLE OF IMPORTANCE DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Other than those Mentioned in the Text.

Chénier, Marie Joseph de. (1764–1811.) Poet, dramatist, and satirist. His chief work was the tragedy "Charles IX," in which Talma made his first success, and which is occasionally played to-day. He also is author of the famous "Chant du Départ."

La Harpe, Jean François de. (1739–1803.) Critic and poet. Friend of Voltaire and his follower until after his imprisonment during the Directory, when he repented and became very religious. His chief work is "Lycée, ou Cours de Littérature Ancienne et Moderne."

Staël-Holstein, Anne Louise Germaine Necker, Baronne de (Madame de Staël). (1766–1817.) A celebrated French woman and writer. As a child she was a favorite of the great men of her time, and was stimulated by them into extraordinary mental activity. She aspired to lead in politics, thus drawing upon herself the enmity of Napoleon, who recognized her as a dangerous person to have in Paris, and exiled her. Her chief works are "Corinne" and "De l'Allemagne." These, although great, are of a style belonging only to a certain period, and appeal but slightly to the people of our time. She was great mainly as she reflected the greatness of the celebrated people whose society she sought.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. (1772–1834.) An English poet, critic, and philosopher. In his youth he formed, with Southey and others, a project of establishing a communistic society on the

banks of the Susquehanna River. This scheme failed for lack of funds. His best known work is "The Ancient Mariner."

Malthus, Thomas Robert. (1766–1834.) An English political economist whose remarkable views upon the relation of population to the means of subsistence, together with Adam Smith's earlier work on the "Wealth of Nations," marked the beginning of the great interest in investigations in the field of social and political economy.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. (1749–1832.) A famous German poet, dramatist, and statesman. He was easily the greatest of all German writers, and was probably the most brilliant and variously accomplished man of his century.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. (1762–1814.) A German metaphysician and disciple of Kant. He was the son of a poor weaver. His greatest work is the "Fundamental Principles of the Whole Theory of Science."

David, Jacques Louis. (1748–1825.) A French historical painter who founded the French classical school. He was court painter under Louis XVI, but entered into the Revolution and voted for the death of the king. After the downfall of his friend Robespierre, he was in prison for a few months. He was again appointed court painter under Napoleon.

Canova, Antonio. (1757–1822.) A great Italian sculptor, and founder of a new school. He restored to sculpture the position which it had lost among the fine arts. He was called to Paris twice to execute commissions for Napoleon I. After the battle of Waterloo he made a third visit to Paris at the command of the pope, to recover certain works of art which Napoleon had taken from Italy.

Talma, François Joseph. (1763–1826.) A celebrated French tragic actor, who introduced upon the French stage the custom of wearing the costumes of the period represented in the play. He was a lifelong friend of Napoleon.

Beethoven, Ludwig von. (1770–1827.) The greatest of German composers, from whose works most that is best in modern music has its origin. He was a pupil of Haydn and Mozart, and his earlier works show their influence.

Cuvier, Georges. (1769–1832.) A French naturalist and statesman, and the founder of the science of comparative anatomy.

Laplace, Pierre Simon de. (1749–1827.) A French astronomer and mathematician. He took some part in statecraft, being appointed minister of the interior by Napoleon. He held this post only a few weeks.

Herschel, Sir William. (1738–1822.) A German-English astronomer and mathematician.

Fulton, Robert. (1765–1815.) American inventor and engineer. He spent some time in France, and it is said that Napoleon thought so little of the possibilities of the steamboat that he refused Fulton's offer to equip his fleet with steam. It may be interesting to speculate upon the possible differences in the history of Europe had steamboats been in use by the French at the time of Napoleon.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO THROUGH THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD OF 1848.

SECTION I.

France from the Restoration in 1814 to the Revolution of July, 1830.

Various Plans of the Allies. — All Europe for twenty-five years had been opposed to the changes in the French government. England had been the most persistent organizer of coalitions against France and against Napoleon, and was really the power to whom his overthrow was finally due. Yet, because Napoleon's army had suffered its most serious disaster in Russia and because Alexander was the chief royal leader in the last coalition, he was for a time assumed to be the arbiter of Europe. After the allies had conquered Napoleon's armies and captured Paris, there was by no means unanimity among them as to what was to be done with France. Propositions for the restoration of the Bourbons, for the taking of a king from an entirely new family, and even for the partition of France, were considered. They were determined that there should be established no government like any since the Republic of 1792. Napoleon's son, under the regency of his mother, Marie Louise of Austria,

would be likely to give Austria too great an influence, so this proposition was not agreeable to Russia, Prussia, and England. Little could be said in favor of Alexander's proposition of choosing a French general as king. Who could be a military king after Napoleon? A proposal to restore the Bourbon family met the approval of all the allies but Russia. To the suggestion that deputies elected by the French people should decide upon a form of government, Metternich would not listen — "No sovereignty of the people."

Who shall be king?

The opinion of France's enemies was not, however, the opinion of France. A new generation who did not know the Bourbons had grown up in the twenty-five years since the beginning of the Revolution; by others they were forgotten, but the allies finally agreeing that only the restoration of the Bourbon line would be acceptable to themselves, and not wishing to impose them upon the French, felt that they must secure the recall of the Bourbons by the apparently voluntary act of some seemingly representative body. Talleyrand, whose supple character permitted him to serve any party where he himself was honored, undertook to obtain the recall of the Bourbons. Led by Talleyrand the senate decreed: "The French people of their own free will summon to the throne Louis of France, brother of the late king." But the people were not really represented by the senate, and considerable effort was necessary to excite the public from indifference or hostility toward the Bourbons to

enthusiasm or even interest. France had become accustomed to constitutional forms, and would certainly have accepted no monarchy without a constitution. The senate drew up a constitution which preserved all the Napoleonic institutions, but Louis XVIII refused to accept it. Alexander, however, would not allow him to enter Paris unless a constitution should be granted. Submitting to the inevitable, Louis XVIII issued a declaration outlining the principles of a liberal constitution.

Louis XVIII returns.

The "Constitutional Charter" he issued in June, 1814, but with the announcement that it was the gift of the king, not a recognition of a popular right. Although the Bourbon monarchy was restored, the old *régime* was by no means revived. The social and administrative organization created by the Revolution and Napoleon could not be abandoned, and they remain to the present, in spite of several changes in government.

Government of Louis XVIII. — By the "Charter" the property qualification for a voter was so high that the great majority of the people were deprived of any voice in the government. The main outlines of the "Charter" were similar to those of the British Constitution. An hereditary House of Peers and an elected Chamber of Deputies corresponded quite closely to the English House of Lords and House of Commons.

The permission to have constitutional forms was not enough to reconcile the people to all the acts of the restored royal family. The very title which the king

gave himself was almost an insult to the French people. By calling himself Louis XVIII and dating his first proclamation in the nineteenth year of his reign, he ignored the existence of the republic and the empire, and by proclaiming himself to be king *by the grace of God*, he tried to conceal the fact that he held his throne only by the submission of the people to the will of armed enemies. The tricolor flag was the one under which France had accomplished all her reforms and under which her armies had marched to victory for twenty-five years, but the king adopted the white flag of the old *régime* and of the "emigrants" who fought against their native country. All these unpopular acts could not fail to irritate the people and, especially, the army.

Napoleon returns. — Napoleon, on the island of Elba, was informed of the dissatisfaction, and, with but few followers, returned to France, in March, 1815. The soldiers sent by the king to capture or stop him, filled with enthusiasm at sight of their old commander, joined instead of opposing him. The tricolor was restored, and the march to Paris was a triumphal promenade. The populace showed their enthusiasm, and the whole army rejoiced to be once more led by the emperor. Left entirely without support, the king and his court could do nothing but leave the country. Napoleon resumed his position as emperor, apparently by consent of all France. The imperial constitution he modified in the interest of liberal government by what was called the "*Acte Addi-*

tionelle," which was ratified by universal suffrage. His intention was to satisfy the French people and rule in such a manner that Europe might not resent his return

But Europe would not permit the undoing of all its recent labors. When the news that he had returned to France reached Vienna the business of the Congress was interrupted, and all energy turned to the dispatch of the allied armies once more for the invasion of France. Napoleon was not to be permitted the experiment of a liberal empire. He had once more to meet the armies of all Europe. The campaign ended with the battle of Waterloo, which completely overthrew Napoleon's power.

The hundred days.

Types of Soldiers of the Allied Armies of Europe, as seen in Paris, 1815.

No notice was taken of Napoleon's abdication in favor of his son Napoleon II, and the allied armies once more brought Louis XVIII to Paris. The French nation was

made to pay heavily for receiving the emperor during the "hundred days." A large war indemnity and the support of one hundred and fifty thousand foreign troops for five years were demanded as well as a diminution of territory. In 1814 France had been reduced to its boundaries of 1792. Now some further reduction was made.

Second Restoration. — Once more placed upon his throne by foreign arms, Louis XVIII returned to Paris. There was less said about the constitution than in 1814. Talleyrand, who had served every government since the beginning of the Revolution and who had exerted himself for the restoration of Louis XVIII, was placed in the ministry. So, also, was Fouché, a man who had voted for the death of Louis XVI, who had served the republic and the empire, and who had intrigued with several parties at Napoleon's second downfall, even to the extent of a partial recognition of the claims of Napoleon II. Both of these ministers were excessively displeasing to the members of the king's family, and indeed the king's family was at this time quite as important as the king himself, for it was really through the influence of his brother that Louis XVIII abandoned his effort to govern as a constitutional king.

The king himself had long been a widower, with no children. His heirs were, first his brother, the Count of Artois, fifty-eight years old, and after him the Duke of Angoulême, son of the Count of Artois, whose wife

was his cousin, the daughter of Louis XVI. The Count of Artois had a second son, the Duke of Berry. Although King Louis XVIII, if left alone, might have acquiesced in constitutional methods, he was constantly harassed by a party led by the Count of Artois, who believed in thorough absolutism. A mode of election was inaugurated by which a large amount of property and high taxation were qualifications necessary to candidature for office and even to the privilege of voting.*

Troubles of Louis XVIII.

One of the greatest blunders of this second restoration was the punishment of those who had served Napoleon during the "hundred days." Many people were punished, but the one execution which shocked the world more than all others was that of Marshal Ney. Marshal Ney had been sent to stop Napoleon on his return from Elba, and the feeling excited in him at the sight of his old commander had led him to espouse the cause of Napoleon. For this he was tried, adjudged guilty of treason, and shot. Whether, technically, this was a just punishment is aside from the question. It was certainly a great blunder on the part of the government, for all Bonapartists were estranged, and the higher feelings of all parties were shocked. A sort of Reign of Terror was begun against all who had sided with Napoleon.

Besides the executions which took place according to

*A voter must be thirty years of age and pay three hundred francs direct tax. A candidate for office must be forty years of age and pay one thousand francs direct tax (Law of 1817).

legal forms, the royalists in the south of France glutted their revenge by massacres and persecutions less in number but equal in barbarity to those of the Reign of Terror of 1793–1794. The reactionary period of violence, that is, of royalists against friends of the "hundred days," is known as the "White Terror."

The White Terror.

The Chamber of Deputies elected during this period (August, 1815) was more royalist than the king himself, and attempted by all means possible to undo all that had been accomplished by the Revolution. Talleyrand and Fouché could not be tolerated in this atmosphere, and were soon replaced by Richelieu and Decazes. This extreme royalist majority in the Chamber of Deputies was known as the Ultra Party, and, under the lead of the king's brother, the Count of Artois, was a serious hindrance to the king's efforts at constitutional government.* So serious did this opposition become that the king dismissed the Chamber in 1816. The new Chamber contained a majority of constitutional royalists which supported the king and his ministers. Some progress in a liberal direction was made, and by elections of 1817, 1818, 1819, the number of liberals increased in the Chamber.

There seemed a good prospect of the king's constitution triumphing over the Ultras when an unhappy event occurred which stopped all progress. The Duke of

* The Count of Artois once said he "would rather saw wood for a living than govern after the English fashion."

Berry, the second son of the Count of Artois, was assassinated by a saddler's apprentice in 1820. Although the assassin was agent of no party and had acted entirely on his own responsibility, the liberals were blamed. As though his liberal policy had caused the death of his nephew, the king dismissed his liberal ministers, took a ministry from the Right (conservative), and henceforth made no more efforts in the liberal cause. As far as possible the progress of the past years was undone. Censorship of the press was reëstablished and electoral laws so modified that for seven years the Chamber of Deputies was at the command of the Ultras. In 1823 it authorized the sending of a French army to reëstablish Ferdinand of Spain on his absolutist throne, and to overthrow the constitution which he had accepted. The feeble health of Louis XVIII left the control of affairs more and more in the hands of his brother. Louis died in 1824 and the Count of Artois became Charles X.

Duke of Berry assassinated.

Charles X becomes King. — Charles could not restore all the conditions that prevailed before the Revolution, but he revived old customs as far as possible. He had himself crowned at Rheims with mediæval ceremonies, created an enormous public debt by causing the Chamber to appropriate about two hundred million dollars to pay "emigrants" for their lands which had been confiscated, and placed education in the hands of the clergy. So far from constitutional life was Charles leading his government that in 1827, at a military review, there were

popular cries, "Down with the ministers!" "Down with the Jesuits!" "Long live the constitution!" When the people celebrated the election of liberal Deputies and began to build barricades in the streets, the king decided to change his minister for one a little less autocratic. But concessions of a liberal nature were so galling to Charles that in 1829 he changed again, this time to place at the head of his ministry Prince Polignac, an Ultra-royalist of the most pronounced type. This was more than the long-suffering people would endure. Even royalists saw the mistake. Republican sentiment had been quietly increasing for some time. Secret organizations had prospered, and were affiliated with revolutionary societies in other countries. Newspapers which spoke against the government were acquitted by the courts when prosecuted. When Lafayette, the aged revolutionist, took a journey, he was honored all along his route. Everything pointed to loss of respect for the power of the king.

Mistakes of Charles X.

In the speech which he made to the legislature in March, 1830, Charles said he should resist revolutionary attempts with force. This threat did not terrify the Chamber, which replied by a vote of "lack of confidence" in the ministry, and a reference to the rights guaranteed by the constitution. The king, indignant at the suggestion that the constitution was superior to the monarch, prorogued the Chamber and dissolved it. He

The king dismisses the Chamber.

was filled with the idea of being himself superior to the constitution.

The King or the Constitution? — A new chamber was to be elected in the early part of July. The conflict was now fairly opened on the question whether the king or the constitution was to be the chief power in France. The friends of the constitution worked to effect the reëlection of those who had voted "Want of confidence."

The government chose this time to send a military expedition to Algiers to resent a slight insult which the Dey of Algiers had offered to the French consul three years before. It was thought that a successful campaign would so dazzle the people by its glory that they would elect a chamber to approve the arbitrary methods of the king. But the king was so plainly on the way toward restoration of the ancient *régime*, and undoing all that the Revolution had accomplished, that the people were not to be diverted by a trifling military success over a half-barbarous nation. The election returned only one hundred and forty-five supporters of the ministry, and two hundred and seventy-two members of the opposition.

For the second time the country had shown that the constitution was not to be ignored. The king, assuming that Article 14 of the "Charter," which allowed him to "make such regulations as may be necessary for the safety of the state," was authorization for anything, determined not to be defeated, and issued

five ordinances which were to establish his authority. The Chamber elected, but not assembled, was dissolved; the qualifications for suffrage were altered so that only the richest land owners could vote; the number of Deputies was reduced from four hundred and thirty to two hundred and sixty-two; new elections were ordered according to the new rules, and the rights of the press were restricted.

The king's decrees.

Now the issue was squarely before the nation. If the decrees were upheld, the constitution was no longer in force. If the constitution were sustained, then the king's decrees were wholly illegal. The ordinances were signed July 25, 1830. King Charles went to Saint Cloud, a suburb of Paris, probably because he expected some resistance and preferred to be absent. Polignac, the obnoxious minister, thought eleven thousand soldiers in the neighborhood of Paris sufficient for all emergencies, but he had miscalculated. The soldiers stationed in Paris strongly sympathized with the people.

Revolution of July, 1830. — On the morning of July 26, the ordinances were first read by the people in the official *moniteur*. The first resistance came from the press. Thiers and Mignet (the historians) were connected with a recently established newspaper called the "*National*." One of the ordinances was directed at the press, particularly at the opposition press, of which the *National* was the most prominent member. Instead of complying with the ordinances and procuring permission to publish, the opposition journalists met at the office of the

National and resolved to publish a protest. During the day the ordinances had become generally known in the city, and public sympathy was shown when the printers paraded the streets in the evening crying, "Down with the ministers!" The next day the police destroyed the presses of the papers which had published the protest.

The printers' protest.

There had been for some time a small republican party composed of obscure people who had no public means of advocating their cause, but it was ready to take advantage of the dissatisfaction to overthrow the monarchy. This party had sought council of Lafayette, but it is not likely that he had advised revolution.

On the 27th of July the printers' protest having become generally known, there collected on the streets crowds composed of the printers whose presses had been broken, of students, shopmen, and laborers. There were in Paris a number of Deputies of the recently elected Chamber. Although they had been forbidden by the ordinances to meet, they were the only representatives of the people. They hestitated, however, to take any active measures. Thiers and the other journalists were not seeking revolution, but merely legal means of resistance. Thus it was left for the republicans to take the initiative. They threw stones at the guards about the palaces and built barricades. In the evening the regular troops under Marmont opened fire upon them, and a few were killed. Exasperated now, the people armed them-

selves as far as possible by plundering stores where weapons were sold.

The morning of the next day found the city ready for defence. More weapons were secured; more barricades were built; and, no longer content with demanding change of ministers, the tricolor was adopted, the white flag torn down, and the cry, "Down with the Bourbons!" raised, and the Hôtel de Ville and Nôtre Dame Cathedral captured. Many soldiers refused to fire on the people, or went over to their side.

Fighting begins.

The Deputies, no longer hesitating, declared themselves representatives of the people, and sent to ask Marmont to cease firing, and to offer their assistance in restoring order if the king would withdraw the ordinances. Marmont could not cease fighting in the face of the rebels without being guilty of treason, but he sent a letter to the king at Saint Cloud, advising him to comply with the popular demand. Charles' reply was to order continued fighting. The street warfare was renewed on the 29th. More troops joined the people's side, and the faithful ones, completely exhausted by two days' exertion in the hot and narrow streets, with no food and drink, while the people had access to supplies in their houses, were completely discouraged and defeated. Marmont withdrew then to Saint Cloud.

Formation of a New Government. — A few Deputies and citizens met at the house of Laffitte, a rich banker and Deputy, formed a "municipal committee," and ap-

pointed Lafayette commander of the National Guard to maintain order. The new government established itself in the Hôtel de Ville. At night Charles at last comprehended that he had been defeated, and sent to Paris the promise that he would repeal the ordinances, allow the dismissed Chamber to meet on August 3, and re-establish the National Guard. Had this been done two or three days earlier, the Bourbon family might have been saved, but now the people cried, "Too late; no more Bourbons!"

What should be the government? The republicans had really led the revolution, but, after all, they were not a large or influential party. As soon as it had become evident that the French people would not tolerate the absolutism of Charles X, the leaders of the constitutional party began to discuss his probable successor. They had in mind Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, son of the Duke of Orleans, who, as *Philippe Égalité*,* had made himself so conspicuous during the first Revolution.

Louis Philippe. As a descendant of a brother of Louis XIV, Louis Philippe of course was a member of the royal family, yet he was as far removed from it as possible in his political ideas. He had taken eager part in the Revolution of 1789; had been present at the capture of the Bastille, and was later a member of the Jacobin Club. He even held a military office under the republic, but left the country after King Louis XVI

* He had adopted ultra-democratic principles and had even voted for the death of his relative, Louis XVI.

was executed. After a somewhat adventurous career in America and various parts of Europe, he settled down to a retired life at the time of the restoration of the Bourbons. His early life and democratic manners made him an acceptable candidate to many who were opposed to Charles X. After the three days of street fighting in July, 1830, he was prevailed upon by his friends in Paris to come in from his country home and accept the vacant throne.

Chosen lieutenant-general.

Laffitte and Thiers and several others were in favor of the Duke of Orleans. On July 30, fifty Deputies met at their regular hall in the Palais Bourbon and elected Louis Philippe lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

If Lafayette had spoken decisively in favor of a republic at once, it is more than likely that his influence would have prevailed, but he did not feel that the French people were yet ready for a republic; and when the friends of Louis Philippe brought him to the Hôtel de Ville, Lafayette embraced him in sight of the multitude. The prince waved the tricolor, and the people recognized that republic and monarchy were to be harmonized. The republicans were willing to accept the duke if he should give guaranties to rule in a thoroughly constitutional manner. He had said, "Henceforth the constitution shall be a reality," and seemed in earnest in stating that the throne should be surrounded by republican institutions. Lafayette was appointed to see him, and carried the republican program in his pocket, but was so convinced of Louis Philippe's

sincerity that his signature to the document was not demanded, and Lafayette assumed responsibility for him to the republicans at the Hôtel de Ville.

Charles X abdicates. — Charles X, now thoroughly realizing that the people would tolerate him no more, abdicated for himself and his son, and resigned the crown to his ten-year-old grandson, Duke of Bordeaux (son of the Duke of Berry), and journeyed to England. Louis Philippe announced to the Chamber of Deputies, on August 3, the king's abdication, but made no mention of the Duke of Bordeaux. On the 7th of August the Chamber declared Louis Philippe the "King of the French." The Charter was to be somewhat revised, and the new king to be a "citizen-king."

Louis Philippe king.

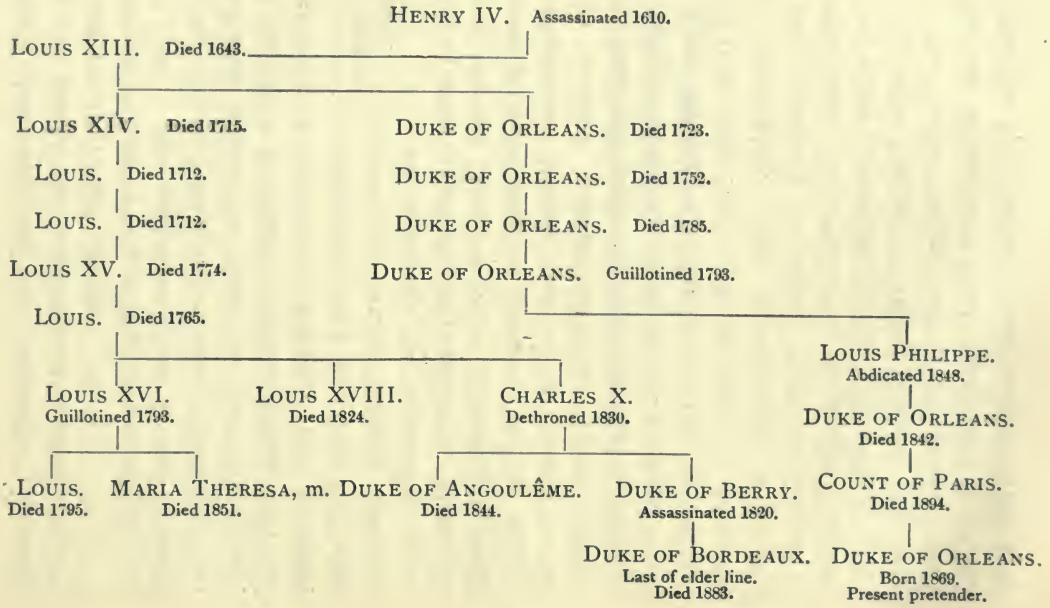
Within two weeks from the issuance of the ordinances, the elder line of Bourbons lost the throne and a new dynasty had begun.

Section II.

France under the "Monarchy of July," 1830-1848.

The Citizen-King. — The new king found himself in an exceedingly difficult position. There were in reality four parties of unequal strength. One, of course, favored the elder Bourbon line; a smaller party had been in favor of the restoration of the Napoleon dynasty in the person of the Duke of Reichstadt, son of

Genealogy of Bourbon Family till the Elder Line becomes Extinct and to the Present Pretender to the Throne of France.



Napoleon I; then there was the pronounced republican party; and, finally, the constitutional monarchic party, which had set up Louis Philippe.

It seemed to Louis Philippe that he should adopt no decided policy. He could not follow in the footsteps of the elder line of Bourbons without alienating most of the French people; he could not lean too strongly toward republican institutions without coming into conflict with the monarchs of Europe. He therefore adopted as his policy what he called the "*juste milieu*" (happy medium). He undertook, by appointing members of all parties to prominent positions, to harmonize all views; but this policy, instead of steering between the opposing forces, resulted rather in quickly antagonizing all parties. Within a few weeks a number of his ministers withdrew, and in November, 1830, Laffitte, who had been the most influential in the elevation of Louis Philippe, became the head of the ministry.

"Happy medium" policy.

The King offends All Parties. — The republicans soon saw that they had little to hope for from the so-called citizen-king. The revolutionary movements which were occurring in various parts of Europe in 1830–1831 looked to France for assistance, and the republican party expected of the citizen-king active support for the liberals in Italy, Belgium, and elsewhere. But Louis Philippe, not feeling quite steady upon his new throne, dared not antagonize the absolute monarchs by assisting revolutionists. This hesi-

tancy, of course, lost him the support of the liberal party at home; and Laffitte himself, the king's best friend, was compelled to resign after four months' service, because Louis Philippe permitted Austria to enter Italy to put down liberal movements.

The attitude of the king gave heart to the legitimists, and the mother of the Duke of Bordeaux organized an expedition in the south of France to place the young prince, at that time (1832) about twelve years of age, upon the throne. It failed, however, and the partisans of the old Bourbons lost all influence for several years. The republicans in various cities, since they were prohibited from assisting revolutionists in other countries, started riots at home, which were put down with severity. Soon all parties had been offended, and Louis Philippe seemed to be moving rapidly toward the absolutist government of the elder Bourbons.

King's life attempted.

In 1835, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate the king. While the royal procession was moving along a boulevard to attend the annual review, an infernal machine was exploded. More than forty persons were injured or killed, among the latter Marshal Mortier. The king escaped unhurt. The event was most opportune. Its effect was that which always follows such an attempt, — a revulsion of feeling against all opposition. In this instance, the reaction was so great that the king was restored to popular favor for a time, and his authority was reëstablished.

Bonapartist Plots.—The ten years from 1830 to 1840 were filled with attacks of various kinds upon the government of Louis Philippe. Two movements occurred, of little importance in themselves, but interesting from the fact that they were undertaken by a person then little known, but who later became Napoleon III.

In 1836, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the first emperor, and son of the former king of Holland, won over to his side the officers of the artillery in the garrison of Strasburg. His purpose was to fire all of the garrison with zeal for the restoration of the empire. The unpopularity of Louis Philippe's government rendered the success of this scheme altogether likely, but a slight mismanagement in the movement led to the arrest of the young prince and his accomplices. Fearing that his trial as a conspirator would arouse so much sympathy for him as seriously to endanger the throne, Louis Philippe sent him off to America without trial, and his accomplices were acquitted, much to the joy of the populace.

In 1840, Louis Philippe caused the bones of the Emperor Napoleon to be brought from Saint Helena to France, where they were interred with great pomp in the Invalides. Taking advantage of the revival of Napoleonic sentiment aroused by this patriotic act, Louis Napoleon made a second attempt to stir France for the reëstablishment of the empire. He had returned from America to Switzer-

Boulogne expedition.

land and had gone thence to England. With about sixty followers he crossed the English Channel to Boulogne, with the intention of inciting the garrison to follow him to Paris. But he was captured by the customs officers, brought to trial before the Court of Peers, and condemned to imprisonment for life in the castle of Ham. During the six years of his imprisonment, he employed himself in writing and publishing various works on agriculture and other subjects, which he systematically distributed throughout France. He escaped from prison in 1846, and, as a consequence of having so skillfully kept his name before the public, he was readily nominated for the legislative body in 1848 by several constituencies.

No System in Louis Philippe's Government. — The reign of Louis Philippe seems to have been rather a series of incidents than a system of government. In 1832 and 1834, insurrections begun by members of the republican party became so formidable that they were suppressed only by actual battle. Another party, called "socialist," advocated the establishment of national workshops, where all who chose might work and share the profits. This party became quite prominent in 1848.

The conquest of Algiers, which was completed during his reign, added very little to the military glory of the French nation, but served as an admirable training school for officers who later became prominent in European wars.

An incident occurred in 1842 which doubtless greatly

modified the subsequent history of France. The king's heir, the Duke of Orleans, was riding in a carriage, when his horses took fright. He leaped out and was killed. The personal popularity of the duke had been so great that had he lived until his father abdicated in 1848 there is little doubt that the violent revolution of that year might have been avoided.

For several years before 1840 little occurred in the French parliament of great importance. Guizot and Thiers were constant rivals for the office of prime minister, a position which carried with it the opportunity to dispense political patronage. From 1840 to 1848 Guizot was at the head of the ministry. By the bestowal of offices and other favors, he influenced elections in such a manner as to maintain his majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

Administration attacked.

By 1847, the legislative body was so thoroughly the tool of the ministry and of the king that open attacks upon the whole administration began. Those of the monarchists in the Chamber who were opposed to the administration allied themselves with the radicals to demand reform. When universal suffrage was demanded, Guizot called it an "absurd system." When a lowering of the property qualification was asked for, he replied, "Work and grow rich, and you will become voters." Thiers, the historian, Guizot's opponent and rival for ministerial honors, attacked his policy in the Chamber of Deputies.

The movement for electoral reform, thus begun, grew to immense proportions during the year 1847 and during the beginning of 1848. Republican leaders joined this movement. The reform leaders, unable to accomplish their purpose in the Chamber of Deputies, arranged for reform banquets in various parts of the country, by means of which they aroused the enthusiasm of the people for legislative reform. Excitement became intense during the latter part of 1847, and by the beginning of 1848 so widely had it spread and so little hope did there seem of moving the king to electoral reform, that it was determined to hold an immense reform banquet in Paris, on the 22d of February. Great preparations were made, and the populace of Paris, anticipating an imposing spectacle, if, indeed, nothing more exciting, assembled in great numbers. The leaders of the reform party were persuaded to give up the plan of the banquet as it was feared that a riot would be precipitated. The crowds, however, unaware of the change in plan, assembled, sang the "Marseillaise," and, cheering for reform, were outspoken in their opposition to the ministry.

Electoral reform demanded.

The more excitable of the radical societies in Paris availed themselves of the political unrest to begin revolutionary proceedings. On the 22d and 23d of February, barricades were erected, and there was conflict with the authorities. As in 1830, some of the regular troops could not be relied on; even the National Guard took the

side of the people, crying, "Down with the ministry!" "Down with Guizot!" On the night of the 23d, about fifty people were killed by the guard in front of the office of the ministry of foreign affairs. This angered the populace and brought on open revolution. The announcement that the ministry had resigned, and that a liberal ministry would be formed, came too late; the revolution was well under way, and on the morning of the 24th of February, 1848, the aged king, Louis Philippe, was forced to leave Paris with his family. The Orleans monarchy had been overturned, as had the elder line of Bourbons, by a popular revolution.

Popular revolution.

Section III.

Germany, 1814-1848.

Condition of Germany in 1815.—Up to the period of the great conflict with France, Germany was, in name, the Holy Roman Empire. The empty forms of this government, however, had little influence upon the life of the individual states, of which, in 1806, about three hundred still recognized the nominal sovereignty of an emperor elected by eight princely votes. The states were of all sizes, from that of a single city to Austria and Prussia. They were all alike in having absolutist governments, but in other matters they differed as greatly as they did in size. Napoleon's wars

and influence had combined most of the cities and the petty principalities with larger states, so that in 1815 there were only thirty-eight states. The Holy Roman Empire, which ceased to exist in 1806, was not reëstablished at the overthrow of Napoleon, but a general effort was made to restore everything else to its previous condition. It was, of course, impossible to reduce the rank of the new kingdoms, Württemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony, which Napoleon had elevated from the rank of duchies. Besides these three there were the kingdoms of Hanover (whose king was king of England), of Prussia, and of Austria, which since 1806 had been called an empire. After 1815 Austria and Prussia, as the largest states, were rivals for the position of leader in Germany. For about fifty years Austria had the greater influence.

Alexander and Metternich.

While the Holy Alliance* was intended to control government all over Europe, it had greater influence in Germany and in Italy than elsewhere. Although Alexander of Russia was assumed to be its head, Metternich, the prime minister of Austria, was in reality the one whose schemes were carried into effect. He obtained a powerful influence over Alexander, and, in the main, decreed the policy of all the German governments from the Congress of Vienna to 1848. Metternich, rather than Emperor Francis I, was the ruling spirit in Austria.

* The Holy Alliance, formed in 1815, was an agreement between the monarchs who signed it to govern only according to the principles of the Christian religion.

Francis was a man of such narrow ideas that he was content to busy himself about petty details of administration, and to leave matters of general policy to his prime minister. Both men were in perfect accord in being opposed to the idea of "sovereignty of the people."

The attitude of Austria toward progress for more than half a century is very clearly epitomized in a speech which Emperor Francis made to the professors of the Laibach Lyceum: "New ideas are being promulgated of which I cannot and will not approve. Abide by the old, for they are good, and our fathers prospered under them — why should not we? I do not need wise men, but brave subjects. He who serves me must learn what I command." Here are absolutism and opposition to progress plainly stated. The effect of such doctrine is shown by the establishment of a quarantine against intellect as against the plague. Foreign teachers were prohibited from coming to Austria, and Austrian students were forbidden to study abroad. Business and agriculture were hampered by the most stupid laws, and commerce from the two seaports, Venice and Trieste, was so little esteemed that ships were compelled to sail under foreign protection or rot in the harbors. This was the spirit, then, which dominated at the reorganization of Germany in 1815.

Austria unprogressive.

If a strong organization should be formed, it must necessarily give preponderating influence to the larger states, Prussia and Austria. This prospect was not at

all to the liking of the smaller states, hence a loose alliance, called the "German Confederation" *(Deutsche Bund)*, was the only connection established between the members of the former empire. A committee of members from all the governments, sitting at Frankfurt and presided over by the Austrian delegate, was the official head of the Confederation and the only bond between its members. This body, called a "Diet," proved to be utterly inefficient, as it merely reflected the authority of the most powerful states.

The Diet.

Uselessness of the Diet. — The Diet was by no means an effective organ of government. In theory this committee was to make laws for the Confederation, but in practice the princes retained their sovereignty and listened to the Diet only when pleased to do so. The Diet itself was so indifferent to business that its method of procedure became a laughing-stock in Europe. One piece of business, begun in 1816, was finished in 1831; debts due in 1801 were paid in 1843; regulations for the army, made in 1821, were put into effect in 1840.

The Interest of the People in Government. — It had been possible to break the power of Napoleon in Germany only by the supreme efforts of the people. Princes with armies of the old style had failed again and again in their coalitions against France, and had been completely destroyed by Napoleon, but after his disastrous Russian campaign of 1812 the German people volunteered with enthusiasm in the armies, and the result

was Napoleon's disaster at Leipsic, and, later, his abdication. The people, having thus contributed to the accomplishment of the great aim of the princes, felt that their reward should be some share in the government. The idea of popular sovereignty had been spread in Germany during the campaigns of the French. Indeed, after the French were driven out, the monarchs of most of the German states promised some sort of constitutional government to their people, but in most cases failed to fulfill their promises. Frederick William III of Prussia, in 1815, named a time within which popular representatives should be chosen and a constitution made, but the time elapsed and nothing was done.

Frederick William was a man easily influenced by those nearest him, and since those who had urged him to fight Napoleon in 1813–1815 were now no longer his advisers, he was easily controlled by the party of reaction. The greatest indignation was aroused against this policy of Frederick William among the professors and students in the various educational institutions. A students' league, called the "Burschenschaft," was formed for the express purpose of promulgating liberal and constitutional ideas. This society held a meeting in October, 1817, to celebrate two events, the battle of Leipsic of 1813 and the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation of 1517. At this meeting an earnest and religious sentiment prevailed. The chief burden of the addresses was the disappointment of the Germans in regard to liberal

The students' league.

government and the denunciation of several pamphlets in which absolutism was defended. The pamphlets and some articles regarded as emblems of despotism were then solemnly burned in imitation of Luther's act in destroying the pope's bull. These, and subsequent acts of similar nature, aroused the antagonism of Austria and Prussia against the Burschenschaft, and even France and Russia requested that the students and professors and the liberal press should be restrained.

While the example of thorough absolutism set by Austria and Prussia was followed by the majority of German states, it should be noted that several of the rulers so admired the French idea of written constitutions that they granted constitutions to their subjects. With one exception, it was in the southern part of Germany that this liberalism was found. To the Duke of Saxe-Weimar belongs the honor of first introducing modern constitutional government into Germany. In 1816 all the essentials of freedom were granted, — free speech, free press, representation of the people, and the right of voting taxes. Two years later, in 1818, Bavaria and Baden granted written constitutions; Württemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt followed in 1819 and 1820, respectively. This progress was not at all pleasing to Metternich and the absolutist princes. They held Saxe-Weimar's liberalism to be largely responsible for the student disturbances, and when in 1819 Karl Sand, a member of the Burschenschaft, believing himself to be

Some liberal states.

doing a patriotic deed, assassinated Kotzebue, a Russian agent and spy, they decided that liberalism must be suppressed.

The Carlsbad Decrees. — A conference of the ministers of the chief states was held at Carlsbad in August, 1819, Metternich presiding. From this conference were issued the famous measures of repression known as the "Carlsbad Decrees." They established a censorship of the press, abolished the Burschenschaft and the gymnastic institutions, and appointed spies in the universities to report on the liberal professors, and a committee with headquarters at Mayence to investigate suspected intrigues. Thus free speech and thought were at an end for some time in Germany. Not only was free speech prohibited by the Decrees, but the persecution of the most distinguished men was begun. Professors who had spoken in favor of liberal government were dismissed from their positions. Jahn, the founder of gymnastic societies, was imprisoned.

Metternich triumphs. — At the time of the assassination of Kotzebue, there was a prospect of a constitution for Prussia, but Metternich so frightened Frederick William III by assigning the deed to liberal theories, that he, too, joined the crusade against constitutional government, and became a mere tool of Metternich. King William of Württemberg, who had already granted his constitution, was not disposed to listen to Metternich's dictation, and for over three years resisted all pressure. Wangenheim, his delegate in the Diet at

Frankfurt; also kept up the fight. King William used every means to enlist the sympathy of liberal countries outside of Germany, but when, getting no help anywhere, he found himself on the verge of war with all Germany, he yielded, recalled Wangenheim from Frankfurt, and joined the disciples of Metternich. Until 1830 political discussion was repressed, so that German affairs had to be dropped from consideration by press and voice. Absolutism became triumphant in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, and in the decade between 1820 and 1830 there was only the Greek strife for independence to keep alive the liberal hopes.

The Revolutionary Wave of 1830. — The revolutions in Paris and Brussels in 1830, and those in Poland and Italy soon after, reawakened the discontent in Germany. Admiration for those people who fought for political liberties was greater than attachment to the absolutist German powers. The German people both north and south began to demand relaxation of the severe régime of the past decade. In Saxony the movement began in September, 1830, by street fighting, in imitation of Brussels and Paris, and ended a year later by the king submitting to the popular demands of "free press and general representation in Parliament." Somewhat similar methods were taken to support the people's program in Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, and some minor principalities. Constitutions were published for Hesse-Cassel, 1831; for Brunswick, 1832; for Hanover, in

Four new constitutions.

1833. The south German states, which had constitutions but had been compelled to submit for several years to the repressive ideas of Metternich, began to insist upon full enjoyment of their constitutional rights. The Diet at Frankfurt was unable to resist the liberal revival. The rulers of the smaller states, who might have called upon the Diet to assist them, really feared the Austrian influence in it more than the liberalism of their own people. So the wave of revolution in 1830 resulted in four new constitutions in Germany.

But it was not yet to be smooth sailing for liberty. The revolution in Poland had failed and the Russians had driven large numbers from the Polish armies into Germany. Both despotism and liberalism were aroused. Sympathy with the defeated Poles stirred the people to activity, while the success of Russia in suppressing rebellion encouraged the Diet to dare again to restrain the liberal press, and the princes, led by Metternich, to limit the power of Parliament.

Through the influence of democratic journalists, a great festival of liberty was held at Hambach in the Bavarian Palatinate, in May, 1832. From twenty to thirty thousand persons are said to have been present. Great numbers from other states than Bavaria attended, besides Polish exiles and French from beyond the neighboring frontier. More important than the banquet, which was spread in the open air, were the patriotic songs and the speeches. The most radical speeches were most applauded. There

Hambach festival.

were no definite plans proposed, but "revolution," "democracy," "liberty and equality" were terms used. One speaker went so far as to denounce all German princes as traitors. The government of Bavaria, which had permitted the meeting, now condemned its excesses and denounced all similar assemblies. Instead of furthering the cause of liberty, the Hambach festival served the Diet as an excellent pretext for repression.

Some of the laws giving liberty to the press, and other progressive measures in South Germany, had been carried under threats of refusing appropriations, and the Diet, therefore, led by Austria and Prussia, assumed the origin of evil to be in the legislative bodies of the constitutional states. It condemned the conduct of the legislatures in these states and insisted upon the necessity of protecting the Confederation against encroachments of legislative bodies and of the press. It issued a decree which empowered the Confederation to interfere in any state belonging to the Confederation whether the state should apply for assistance or not, where a legislative body should make the granting of taxes dependent on the accomplishment of other objects. In simple terms this meant that the Diet authorized the absolutist power to interfere at pleasure against liberal movements in constitutional states.

As if to make the reactionary decrees of 1832 a mere repetition of the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819, a more rigid watchfulness was to be exercised over all persons whose speeches, writings, and actions "might give

reason for suspecting that they were engaged in seditious undertakings." Holding popular assemblies and festivals without government permission was prohibited. Political speeches or resolutions were punishable as crimes. All persons were forbidden to display flags, or colors, or cockades, other than the national ones. This latter decree was especially aimed at the black, red, and gold colors of the Burschenschaft, which had come to be the emblem of German unity. These decrees plainly deprived the legislative bodies of the constitutional states of their independence, but the governments even of the constitutional states agreed to promulgate and support them. In most of these states vigorous protests were raised against their adoption, and the discussion at Württemberg and Hesse-Cassel was stopped only by dissolving the legislatures.

Repression by Diet.

Outbreak in Frankfurt. — In April, 1833, an outbreak occurred in Frankfurt, which was believed to have been instigated by French democratic emissaries and Polish refugees. A speech made by one of a crowd of young men concerning the oppression in Germany aroused the enthusiasm of the people; guard houses were attacked; prisoners were set at liberty. The greatest bravery was displayed by the insurrectionists, but they were overpowered. On the anniversary of the Hambach festival, a body of people assembled again in Hambach, sang republican songs and made republican speeches. They were attacked by troops, and several were killed and wounded.

Constitutional Conflict in Hanover. — For about fifteen years the severity of the Diet was maintained. Patriots in favor of German unity and freedom could only wait and hope in secret. Only an occasional incident brought the main issue to the front. Hanover and England had had the same king from the time of George I, 1714 to 1837. When William IV of England and Hanover died, Victoria succeeded him in England, but the Salic law being in effect in Hanover, William's brother, Ernest Augustus, became king.

Under the constitution granted by William in 1833, crown lands were declared to be state property and the king's income was to be by appropriation voted by the legislature. Ernest Augustus, greatly in debt, thought to relieve himself of his financial difficulties by doing away with the constitution and taking possession of all the revenues. He did this within a week after his arrival in Hanover.

Called upon to take the oath of allegiance to the new king, several officers and distinguished men refused to recognize one who had overthrown a legally established constitution. Among them were seven professors of the University of Göttingen. They were dismissed from their positions, and three of them were ordered out of the country. Great sympathy was shown all over Germany for these martyrs to constitutionalism. The men were called to other universities. The Hanover legislature refused the king's plan of a constitution which should suit himself, and appealed

to the Diet at Frankfurt. The Diet, in a lame and cowardly manner, refused assistance, and Ernest Augustus had his own way.

Progress in Prussia. — During the years from 1830 to 1848, there was a gradually increasing sentiment that not only free constitutional life but German unity was the goal to be sought. Only Austria or Prussia was strong enough to head a national movement, but neither of these states showed any activity except in persecution of liberal thought. Besides this, each of these states was jealous of the other, and neither would willingly consent to the leadership of the other. One writer had expressed the thought that the Confederation must give way to a strongly united federal state, and that this must be under the lead of Prussia and an elected Parliament. Events were gradually contributing to this end.

Customs Union.

Prussia's first increase of influence in Germany was caused by a Customs Union (*Zollverein*) with some of the smaller states in 1828 and succeeding years. This union was of great advantage to interstate commerce, as heretofore duties were collected at each state boundary. Prussia, being the largest state in the Customs Union, could not fail to become a leader in business interests. This commercial supremacy was later utilized for political purposes.

Frederick William III, having failed to keep his promise of a representative government after the "War of Liberation," remained to the end of his life a supporter

of absolutist forms.* At his death many men of intellect in Prussia looked with some hope to his son Frederick William IV for reforms. His first acts seemed encouraging. Many men undergoing punishments for political offences (some of them since 1819) were released. Two of the professors (the Grimm brothers), dismissed by the king of Hanover from Göttingen, were called to the University of Berlin. These acts showed the kindliness of the royal disposition, but when the king was petitioned to introduce representation of the people, his reply showed plainly that he was too firm a believer in the "divine right of kings" to divide his authority with a Parliament. Frederick William III had left this advice to his son: "Beware of the love of innovation, now so general; beware of impracticable theories, so many of which are now in vogue." Frederick William IV replied to the petitioners that the local Parliaments of each state would be retained, but that no Parliament for the whole kingdom would be permitted.

First assembly in Prussia.

The censorship of the press being somewhat relaxed, there appeared pamphlets urging the necessity of a constitution. It is not known whether it was because of these or for other reasons that the king called, in 1842, "An Assembly of the United Committees from all the provinces of the empire." In the ordinance calling this assembly, he states that he does this "with a view to the de-

* Reigned from 1797 to 1840.

velopment of the representative system." The minister of the interior in his opening speech exhorted the members to "let the common cause of *all* Prussia be constantly borne in mind." It might appear that now Prussia was about to start on a constitutional career, but the subjects for discussion in the assembly were all fixed beforehand, and the limits within which the deputies were to confine themselves were so narrowed by the government that there was little satisfaction or progress. Nevertheless this slight step toward a representative Parliament could be seen and appreciated. In 1844, two shots were fired at Frederick William just as he had entered his carriage to go on a journey. Although the would-be assassin had only personal grievances, the effect of the attack was to increase for a time the royal authority.

United Diet, 1847.

Nothing in the history of Prussia is of general interest from this time until 1847. King Frederick William IV, on February 3 of that year, issued a decree calling a "United Diet." Another decree followed concerning its formation. The "Estate of Nobles" was to contain royal princes and higher nobility; the "House of Three Estates" was to consist of representatives of the lower nobility, city, and country. On the 11th of April the king opened the assembly with a long speech beginning: "Illustrious Noble Princes, Counts and Lords, my dear and trusty orders of Nobles, Burghers, and Commons, I bid you from the depth of my heart welcome on the day of

the fulfillment of a great work of my father. . . . The noble edifice of representative freedom is to-day perfected in your assembly." This introduction would indicate that Frederick William III's promise of representative government was now fulfilled. If this were really so, it was far from the ideal government of the liberal statesmen and thinkers. In the first place the United Diet was not a representation of the people but rather of social classes, and, again, it was not a new body but merely a general meeting in Berlin of the provincial Parliaments.

High hopes were reared on the prospects of attaining the long-desired constitutional government, but in the course of the king's long speech he exhorted the nobles to "follow the banner of the Hohenzollerns." "I should not have called you together, had I had the smallest suspicion that . . . you had any desire to play the part of what are called representatives of the people. . . . The throne and the state would be endangered by it, and I recognized it as my first duty to preserve the throne. If other countries find their happiness in 'manufactured and granted' constitutions, we must praise their happiness. . . . But Prussia, gentlemen, Prussia cannot bear such a state of things. . . . I am forced to the solemn declaration that no power on earth will ever succeed in moving me to change the natural relation between princes and people into something merely conventional or constitutional, and I will never suffer a written sheet of paper

The king's speech disappointing.

to force itself in between our Lord God in heaven and this people." Then the work of the United Diet was laid out, chiefly financial. Intense dissatisfaction was felt by all liberal-minded people with this speech. It seemed as though a prize had been held out and then withdrawn. We can see now, however, that the calling of the "United Diet," unsatisfactory as it was at the time, was, after all, a step in advance.

No Progress in Austria. — The outline of the Austrian history in the third, fourth, and fifth decade of the century, up to 1848, was the same as immediately after the Congress of Vienna. Emperor Francis I died in 1835, but his son Ferdinand I left all government to Metternich, as had Francis. Metternich's influence pervaded everything. As long as he remained prime minister no reforms could be hoped for. Public education was neglected, and representation of the people did not exist. The Polish and Italian provinces of Austria, however, were always difficult to restrain. Hungary maintained a constitutional form of government. With the increasing influence of Prussia in Germany through the Customs Union, the growing number of constitutions among the smaller German states, and the uneasiness in Hungary, Metternich's authority began to decline. When the wave of the revolution of 1848 swept over Europe, Metternich and Austria were caught in the storm.

Section IV.

England after the Battle of Waterloo.

Financial Depression. — England had not suffered, as had the Continental countries, by the wars of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era. On the contrary, while English money had assisted in forming all the coalitions against France, the people of England were safe from invasion, and devoted themselves to the greatly increased demand for manufactures to supply the European armies. Agriculture and manufacture reached an amazing development. With the close of the war, however, the demand for English productions was greatly diminished, and great numbers of laborers were thrown out of employment by the contraction in manufactures. The number of idlers was still further augmented by the large bodies of soldiers dismissed from service.

While England did not participate in the revolutions of other countries, great dissatisfaction was felt among the people at having no voice in the government. All political power was in the hands of a few individuals who desired to retain it. Burdensome taxes were unequally distributed. The penalty of death was inflicted for the most trivial offences, as well as for grave crimes. The "poor laws" were such as to make criminals of laborers, and oppressive legislation drove the people almost to rebel-

Bad social conditions.

lion. Only the severity of the government prevented isolated disturbances growing to the proportion of rebellion.

A very unfavorable season caused the failure of crops in the year 1816, and there was great distress throughout all Great Britain. In the manufacturing districts many machines were broken by those who thought that the introduction of machinery was robbing them of their labor. Riots broke out in various parts of England. A conspiracy was even discovered for the overthrow of the government. But the worst that actually occurred in this year was a meeting held in a field near London, where the people by incendiary speeches were incited to start an insurrection. The same methods were used as in the French revolutions. The leader carried a tricolored flag and the mob robbed gunsmith shops and entered the city, but the police were able to control the riot. Within two or three years several other serious plans for insurrection were made and foiled. The ministry was successful in getting several repressive measures passed through Parliament, but in attempting to punish the individuals accused of riot they made the mistake of charging them with treason. As treason could not be proved, those who should have been punished for riot were allowed to go free, and the ministry was thus brought into discredit with the people for the failure.

Ministry discredited.

Political Reform begun. — George IV came to the throne in 1820. He had been regent for so many years

before this that there was no particular change in the political and social situation when he became actual king; yet the ten years of his reign, from 1820 to 1830, covered a change in English politics more momentous than any in the century. This change was the passing of England from the government of an aristocracy to that of the great middle classes. While the indications of this approaching change were seen before 1820 and the change was not completed until after the death of George IV, public sentiment had become so strong that no return to the old aristocratic system seemed possible. The riotous outbreaks demanding political reform before 1820 have been already referred to. The severity of the measures of repression caused their discontinuance for a time, but the great mass of the English people had begun to think that a change must come. After the detection and punishment of several criminals who were concerned in a conspiracy to murder the cabinet ministers and set up a provisional government in 1820, the attention of statesmen was turned to various matters pertaining to the internal welfare and progress of the country, so that such conspiracies would be less likely to be repeated.

The Succession to the Throne. — The character of George IV and his family life became matters of public interest. He had been married in 1795 to Princess Caroline of Brunswick, but had separated from her within a few years. Only one daughter had been born to them, the Princess Charlotte. She was married to

Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg in 1816, and died the next year. The king had several brothers, but after them there would be considerable doubt about the person upon whom the succession would fall. The only brother who had children was the Duke of Cambridge, but he was so unpopular that there was little prospect of his or his children's recognition. So the succession to the crown fell to the Princess Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Kent, youngest of the sons of George III. She was born on May 24, 1819.

George IV, whose life had been notoriously immoral, desired to be divorced as soon as he had become king, and thus prevent his wife from becoming queen. This private affair became a matter of state importance.

Persecution of Queen Caroline.

The name of the queen was omitted from the liturgy of the Established Church. Although the Princess Caroline had lived abroad for many years, she would not endure such an insult as this. She returned to England, therefore, to insist upon her recognition as queen. A bill was introduced into Parliament, called the "Bill of Pains and Penalties," the purpose of which was to accomplish the divorce. The whole nation was scandalized by the proceedings. The persecution of the queen ranged the public sympathy on her side, and the bill which passed the House of Lords by a small majority was abandoned without being taken to the House of Commons. Upon the occasion of the coronation of the king, the queen attempted to force her way into Wes-

minster Abbey, and was refused admittance. The excitement and sickness brought on by this last insult soon caused her death.

Change in Criminal Law, and Demand for Parliamentary Reform. — In 1821 great changes were effected in the criminal laws. The most trivial offences had been punishable by death, even so small an offence as the theft of five shillings being sufficient to involve the extreme penalty. From time to time during the next twenty years improvements were made in the criminal laws, but it was not until 1845 that all offences except treason, murder, and attempted murder, were exempt from punishment by death.

The demand for a reform of Parliament, which had been made by the agitators before 1820, but had, by reason of the violence of its supporters, become somewhat discredited, began to take hold of the sober-minded people throughout the country. In 1821 a borough had been disfranchised for corruption, and the members of the borough had been assigned to Leeds, a great manufacturing city. This brought forward the question of disfranchising many boroughs which had little population or were completely under the control of some individual or of a few individuals. This was not accomplished until 1832, but the public mind was continually busy on the subject during the remaining years of the Twenties.

Removal of Catholic Disabilities. — These years were quite fully occupied with the question of the rights

of Roman Catholics. A liberal feeling in favor of Roman Catholics had been growing for some years. In 1823, a Roman Catholic association was organized in Ireland which was joined by nearly all the Catholics of the country. It was supported by money collected by the priests, and, under the lead of Daniel O'Connell, a brilliant lawyer, exercised in Ireland almost the importance of a legislative body. O'Connell was a man of tremendous energy and great eloquence, and grew to have almost unlimited influence with his countrymen. The Catholic association was extremely beneficial to the conditions in Ireland, both in directing the attention of its members toward the repeal of Catholic disabilities and in lessening greatly the outrages which formerly occurred between the Catholics and the Established Church. The government in London, however, could see in the Catholic association only an illegal body, which seemed to be leading toward civil war, and, in 1825, a law was passed dissolving it. The agitation for the passage of this law only made the whole Catholic question more prominent, and some of those who had disapproved of the association but were friends of the Catholics were willing to favor measures for their relief, and in 1828 the Test and Corporation acts were repealed.

Catholic association.

Now the Irish people determined to send O'Connell to Parliament. An election occurring in the county of Clare, O'Connell was brought forward as a candidate, and elected by an overwhelming majority. If he were

not permitted to take his seat in Parliament, it was thought that civil war might break out in Ireland, and the Duke of Wellington, as prime minister, felt that in the face of this possibility he had best recede from his position against the removal of Catholic disabilities. The bill which was to effect the prime minister's new determination passed by a large majority when brought before the House of Commons, and the influence of the Duke of Wellington secured its passage through the House of Lords. O'Connell became a member of Parliament and the champion of Irish rights. The next demand of Ireland was to have the Act of Union repealed, whereby the Irish Parliament had ceased to exist in 1800, and representation in the English Parliament had been provided. Agitation for this repeal of the union has occurred at various times through the century, but up to the present (1902) has not been successful.

Parliamentary Reform. — With the liberal feeling which was brought about by the removal of Catholic disability, the clamor for parliamentary reform began to take on new life. The death of George IV, which occurred in 1830, was most opportune for the success of the movement. His character as man and king was such that no one mourned him; he had been opposed to progress and had disgraced royalty by his immorality. His brother William came to the throne as William IV in 1830. The revolution which occurred in France in this year only

William IV.

increased the interest of Englishmen in reform. Had George IV been still alive it is quite probable that his throne would have been overturned, as was that of Louis Philippe; but William IV was favorably disposed toward parliamentary reform, and when the Duke of Wellington resigned office, on account of the defeat of an unimportant motion, Earl Gray was called to the head of the new government.

It was the general understanding that Gray would make it his business at once to introduce a bill for a reform of the representation. The whole attention of the country was now given to this great question. Lines were sharply drawn and two parties formed; one favored the maintenance of the arrangement which had stood for centuries; the other, such a modification as would permit the representation of English citizens who were not at present represented in Parliament, and the removal of representatives of localities where the population had so declined that their members of Parliament represented, in many cases, merely individuals. Great cities, such as Birmingham and Manchester and Leeds, with a population of more than a hundred thousand each, had no representative in Parliament, while in one or two instances pieces of ground with absolutely no inhabitants were represented by two members.

Reform Bill introduced.

The Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons in March, 1830, by Lord John Russell. Of course all of the Tories most vigorously opposed any change. In the House of

Lords, the Duke of Wellington declared, in the most striking and earnest manner, that if he were called upon to suggest a form of government for Great Britain which should be the best possible, he did not know that he should be able to frame as good an one as it had at present, but he should endeavor, as nearly as possible, to reproduce it.

The Reform Bill in its original form failed to pass the third reading in the House. The reformers now had the option of two courses, — to resign and allow the Tories to be called to office, or to dissolve Parliament and call for a new election. The latter course was chosen. All through the country popular demonstrations showed the joy of the people at the opportunity of electing members who should vote for reform. In the city of London a general illumination celebrated the dissolution, and mobs broke the windows of those who refused to take part in the illumination. Reformers cried everywhere: "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill!" The election showed a large increase of members favorable to reform.

The bill, somewhat amended, passed the House of Commons but was rejected by the House of Lords. The excitement caused by this news in all parts of the country was intense. Members of the House of Lords who had opposed the bill were mobbed in the streets, and riots occurred in New Castle, Bristol, and other towns. Some threats were made of refusal to pay taxes unless the bill should be passed. In some of

the cities there even appeared to be danger of revolution.

Introduced a second time.

The ministers again passed the bill through the House of Commons with a greater majority than before; the House of Lords this time was less decided than formerly. Some were willing to pass the bill with certain changes; others, of course, were entirely opposed to a reform. The king, who had at first consented to create enough new peers to make a majority in favor of the bill, receded from this position as he became alarmed at the revolutionary attitude of the country.

All hope for the bill now being lost, Earl Gray resigned, and the Duke of Wellington was called upon to form a new ministry. But the withdrawal of the funds from the banks, the refusal to pay taxes, and the inability of Wellington to form a cabinet, forced the king to recall Earl Gray, who demanded that he be given the privilege of adding to the peers a sufficient number to pass the bill. The Duke of Wellington, to avoid this creation which he regarded as a calamity, induced some of his friends to refrain from opposition or to remain absent at the time of voting, so that the bill was finally passed in June, 1832.

Nature of the reform.

By this act a sweeping reform was accomplished. One hundred and forty-three members were taken away from small boroughs, and representatives were allowed to counties, cities, and large towns. The suffrage restrictions were

so changed that the number of voters was very largely increased. Similar bills were passed for Scotland and Ireland. The situation in Scotland, particularly, was worse than it had been in England. The large cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh had contained but thirty-three voters each, and in the whole country the number did not exceed four thousand. By the admission to the franchise of those in towns who paid ten pounds a year rent, and of owners of land which would rent for ten pounds a year, the voting population was very greatly increased.

The most important incidental result of the passage of the Reform Bill was the establishment of the principle that the government, that is, the actual officers of administration, must be supported by the majority in the House of Commons, or, in other words, the opinion of the House of Commons is of greater importance than that of the king and House of Lords.

Party government established.

During the remainder of the nineteenth century the principle of party government became firmly established. Queen Victoria always called upon the leader of the majority in the House of Commons to form the ministry. As the majority of voters are represented by the majority in the House of Commons, it follows that the administration fairly executes the will of the nation.

After the conservatism in England had once given way before the efforts which caused the reform of the representation in 1832, a regular reforming era began.

Reforms of many kinds were undertaken and carried out, not as early as many of the causes deserved, yet early enough to prevent the violence of open revolution which distinguished the reform movements on the Continent. The most crying evils of social organization were taken up one by one and studied with a view to improvement.

Provision for the Poor. — It has been an accepted principle in England that every needy person has a claim for relief. The application of the principle often wrought great injustice. Vast sums were expended with little or no discrimination or system. Much of the money never reached the poor for whom it was intended, both because of corrupt practices and because of ignorance in method.

A commission was appointed by Parliament to investigate the operation of the existing poor laws, and after the report a new law was passed. The committee found abuses and stupidities of the most startling kind in the administration of poor relief. At the order of any justice of the peace, aid must be given. Not only were the sick and the helpless thus assisted, but those who were young, able-bodied, and regularly employed. If, in the opinion of the justice, a person was not receiving wages sufficient to live according to a certain standard, an allowance was given from the poor rates to man, wife, and each child. Thus the employer and employee came to depend upon this help. The laborer, sure of outside assistance, was not spurred to

extra exertion to increase his income, and the employer refrained from paying a proper stipend, and allowed public funds to help him pay for labor. As wages fell, the poor who had not heretofore been paupers were compelled to apply for help. As each member of the family received a dole, it followed that the larger the family the larger the income from the public treasury. Hence paupers remained paupers, and the administration of the poor laws increased the very evil that it was intended to abate.

New poor law.

The new poor law, based upon the recommendations of the commission, was passed in 1834. Previously each parish had been at liberty to deal with the poor in its own way, but the new law was administered by a Poor Law Board, which introduced uniformity throughout the country. Able-bodied persons could no longer receive a dole without going to live in the workhouse. Laborers who had felt it no disgrace to receive help in their homes but were unwilling to go to the workhouse were spurred to greater industry. The farmers were compelled to pay better wages. Within a few years the demoralization which had existed under the old law had disappeared, and the amount of money disbursed to the poor had diminished one half.

Abolition of Slavery. — In 1807 an act had passed Parliament which was intended to abolish the slave trade. The law did not at once effect all the good intended, but, by making the trade in slaves an illegal business, it went a long way toward creating public sentiment against

the whole system of slavery. Many of the colonies of Great Britain, especially the West Indies, depended for their commercial prosperity entirely upon slavery, but the teachings of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and others brought the public mind of England to demand abolition. An act was passed in 1833 which was to take effect August 1, 1834. From that date, (1) slavery was to cease; (2) slaves on agricultural estates were to continue to work as apprentices for their masters for seven years, and other household slaves for five years; (3) twenty million pounds were appropriated as compensation to the owners for their loss.

Abuse of Children in Factories. — Public sympathy had been roused against the enslavement of Africans thousands of miles away, while up to 1833 in England itself there existed slavery in reality, though not in name, quite as bad as the worst in the colonies. The introduction of machinery into the weaving industries in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth had made the use of hand looms unprofitable, and the weavers who had worked in their own cottages were compelled to move with their families to the large manufacturing towns. The hand looms had required the strength of a man, but power looms could be attended by children, and as the wages of a child were so much lower than of an adult the large manufactories began to employ children in large numbers. To supply the sudden demand for apprentices, wagon loads of the children of the poor in London were sent into the

provinces, where they were compelled to work from twelve to fourteen hours a day in the factories. As this was before the days of railways and telegraphy, the children were almost as completely lost to their parents as if they had been sold as slaves into a distant land.

Conditions somewhat improved.

The same spirit of reform which caused the changes in political conditions, the abolition of colonial slavery, and the change in the poor law, urged investigation into the abuses in factories. A commission was appointed whose report, in 1833, brought to light such atrocities in the treatment of the children that an act was carried through Parliament, limiting the labor of children under thirteen years of age to eight hours a day, and those from thirteen to eighteen to twelve hours a day. These limitations by no means corrected all the evils of the factory system, but they produced a condition far in advance of the practice which had permitted children, even as young as five years, to work twelve or fourteen hours a day.

Municipal Reform. — One of the direct effects of the Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832 was reform in municipal government. The corruption in town government would have been surprising if it had not been equalled by that in the national affairs. But the improvement in parliamentary representation called attention to the fact that in most cases mayors and other municipal officers managed finances and local affairs chiefly in their own

interests and that the municipal corporations were not chosen by the people, but were under the control of political or family rings. As in the cases of the poor and the factories, a commission was appointed to investigate. Its report was followed by parliamentary acts establishing elective town councils, which should appoint all municipal officers. The Municipal Corporation Bill, as it was called, created quite as much of a revolution in town life as the great Reform Bill in national affairs. It also served to educate the people in the business of self-government.

Reform continues under Queen Victoria. — The reign of William IV, 1830–1837, was distinguished by the many reforms accomplished, beginning with the great reform of Parliament; but reform was by no means ended with his life. The daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, next younger brother of the late king and fourth son of George III, came to the throne as Queen Victoria, in 1837. Her whole reign, 1837–1901, was one of continued progress and reform. While radical changes were not so frequent as during the seven years of William IV's rule, vast improvements in nearly every department of British social and political life were made during the reign of Victoria. These served to make the England of the end of the nineteenth century as different from the England of the beginning of the century as the Continental nations which have passed through a series of violent revolutions are different to-day from the Continental nations of a hundred years ago.

Improvements in Criminal Law. — One of the greatest changes is noticeable in the treatment of prisoners and in the punishment of criminals. Through the labors of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, in the latter part of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, prison conditions had been somewhat improved. Howard had found prisoners chained in filthy cells, which had not been cleaned for months, for the sole offence of being indebted a few shillings. The whole subject of crime was greatly complicated because of the severe penalties provided for small offences. Between 1660 and 1820, one hundred and sixty new offences were made punishable by death. As late as 1833, a boy nine years old was sentenced to death for pushing a stick through a cracked window and pulling out some paint worth twopence. Such severity, however, increased crime rather than diminished it. Between 1819 and 1842, commitments for crime increased twice as fast as the population. Under these conditions, "Sufferers refused to prosecute, jurors to convict, and judges to hang." *

In 1837 the death penalty was limited to only the worst crimes, and in 1844 imprisonment for a debt less than twenty pounds was abolished.

Improved Postal System. — Few changes in the nineteenth century appear more striking than the changes in the postal system. At the beginning of the century and up to 1840, no letter was carried for less than twopence, and for that sum only for seven miles. The rate

* Ransome.

of postage varied as the distance. A letter from London to Windsor was fivepence, and from London to Durham one shilling. In 1820 an extraordinary post was provided, by which letters for double postage could be carried at the speed of eleven miles an hour.

Under these circumstances, correspondence could not be carried on by those who had small incomes. Rowland Hill, in 1837, published a pamphlet showing that the cost of carrying a letter a long distance was not much greater than for carrying it a short distance. Again, as no postage was prepaid, a large number of clerks were needed in the post-office to estimate the postage of each letter, and if all letters should be charged at a uniform rate this labor would be unnecessary. Also several minutes would not be consumed by the carriers in collecting the postage for each letter. Hill's conclusions were that the system could be simplified and made economical by a prepaid charge of a penny for each letter. So great was the impression made on the public by Hill's pamphlet that the House of Commons was forced to consider the subject, and in 1840 adopted the plan. The influence of penny postage upon the educational and social development of the nation during the remainder of the century can hardly be estimated.

SECTION V.

Italy, 1814-1848.

Reactionary Influence of Austria. — Italy was said by Metternich to be but a "mere geographical expression." By this he meant what was really the fact, that Italy had been for centuries not a nation, but only a collection of petty independent states, whose rulers were jealous of each other, and who, for the most part, had angered their own subjects by a selfish and despotic policy. After the Restoration, in 1815, this was more marked than ever.

England and Austria had promised the Italians their independence in 1814, if they would join the allies in overthrowing Napoleon. By this means they had detached from the French many troops who had been depended upon by Napoleon for an emergency. Forgetting the promises, however, after Napoleon was overthrown, Austria let the Italians understand that they were to be regarded as Austrian subjects and that their affairs were to be decided in Vienna. This at once made the most of the Italians regard Austria as their greatest enemy, for they had enjoyed, under French influence, better laws, more systematic administration, and greater freedom from brigands than ever before. Industry and education had been encouraged, and when their former monarchs were restored in 1814 and 1815 all the evils of the old *régime* were brought

back, and the good of the French influence, as far as possible, wiped out. Monasteries and convents which had been turned into factories were restored to their former uses, the hum of the machinery was silenced, and their walls echoed only to the tread of the returned monks. Other French institutions, such as street lamps and vaccination, were abolished, and, in Piedmont, fanatics went so far as to throw the furniture used by the French officers out of the window and to pull up French plants in the botanical gardens.

Return to former conditions.

Restoration in Naples. — Ferdinand, king of Naples, had remained in Sicily during the period of French occupation, and had made alliances with brigands to harass the government of Murat. After his return to Naples in 1815, he found these former allies very troublesome. English influence had forced him to grant a constitution to Sicily in 1812, but on his return to Naples he proclaimed Naples and Sicily united under the title of "The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies," and abolished the Sicilian constitution. As far as possible he obliterated all traces of reforms introduced by the French, and was so under the influence of Metternich as to promise to be no more liberal in Naples than the Austrians in their provinces of North Italy. This unenlightened and retrogressive policy was characteristic of nearly all the states of Italy until the first wave of revolution which swept over Europe in 1820.

There was a secret society in Italy called the "Car-

bonari" (charcoal burners). This was an organization whose origin is not thoroughly known, but in some respects it resembled the society of Free Masons. During the period of the French domination it had devoted some of its energies to opposing French rule, but its main purpose seemed to be to increase the power of the people in government.

The Carbonari.

Revolution of 1820. — When, in July, 1820, news reached Naples that a revolution had started in Spain, demanding the restoration of the constitution of 1812, the conditions were ripe in Naples to cause a similar outburst. King Ferdinand had employed an Austrian officer to organize his military force, thus slighting his native Italian officers who had served under Murat. This could not fail to cause dissatisfaction. One man who was commissioned to organize the militia was a liberal leader of great influence, William Pepe. He was also a zealous member of the Carbonari, and took pains to see that his recruits became members of this society, as well as soldiers.

The revolution in Spain had begun with the soldiers who had compelled the king to accept the constitution. Here was a model for Naples. A body of soldiers started the movement. Citizens and Carbonari joined, as also did the troops sent to put down the insurrection, and within a few days the king was compelled to announce that he would grant a constitution within a week.

The king submits.

Although the king said he would give a constitution of his own free will, he pleaded illness on the same day, and appointed his son regent. This looked suspicious, and the people were not satisfied until the regent had decreed the Spanish constitution, and his decree was ratified by Ferdinand himself. The people, unaccustomed to self-government, gave themselves up to rejoicing, not realizing that self-government implies much more than the publication of a constitution on paper.

The king, greatly chagrined at the liberal success, was helpless before it, and could give only hypocritical thanks to the leaders and profess to join in the popular triumph. He even went so far as to take a public oath to defend the constitution, and called upon God to "Hurl the lightning of thy vengeance on my head if I lie or intend to break this oath." In view of later events, it is hardly possible to have the slightest belief in the king's sincerity, but for the moment the people were so enthusiastic that when Metternich summoned Ferdinand to Laibach, to a meeting of the leaders of the Holy Alliance, they refused to send delegates with him, as this action might suggest a distrust of their "honorable" king; and yet, in truth, Metternich had already received a letter from Ferdinand asking for an Austrian army to reconquer his kingdom for him.

The king's hypocrisy.

Sicilian Revolution. — As soon as the people in Sicily heard of the successful revolution in Naples, they

determined to gain for themselves constitutional liberties; but instead of adopting the Spanish constitution they brought out their own constitution of 1813, which Ferdinand had abolished in 1816.

The Neapolitans, filled with joy over their own new-found liberties, were illiberal enough to oppose the Sicilian demands. Sicily, in full revolt, was determined upon separation from Naples. Troops were sent from the mainland to compel Sicily to give up the very same liberties for which they themselves had been striving. A bitter war was carried on for months. This short-sighted policy of the Neapolitans contributed very largely to their own loss of self-government. Horrible atrocities were perpetrated on both sides, and Sicily, subdued, was held as a conquered land under military force.

Parliament in Naples.

Meantime, in Naples, a Parliament had assembled. There was pomp and ceremony, and the king again took an oath to defend the constitution, and then seventy-two deputies, composing the first Parliament elected by modern Italians, began to show, by the measures they enacted, their inexperience and almost total incapacity for government. Their domineering method of treating Sicily, and their innocent confidence in the king's promises, illustrate their incapacity. Ferdinand, on his arrival at the Congress of Monarchs and Delegates held at Laibach, at once declared that his oath to support the constitution had been taken under compulsion. He had told the

Parliament that he was going to represent the Spanish constitution at Laibach. It was not necessary for Metternich to use any arguments with him to prove the necessity of overthrowing all that the revolution had accomplished.

Ferdinand, utterly careless of the welfare of his state, spent his time in hunting and other amusements, while the congress was deciding what should be done with his kingdom. A body of Austrian troops was sent toward Naples, where hasty preparations were made for defence. Again incompetence amounted to stupidity. Instead of recognizing the perjury and hypocrisy of their king, they assumed that he had been compelled to submit to the Austrian invasion, and even put his son at the head of the army to oppose it. Naples' best troops were in Sicily, to maintain order over those who, had their rights been recognized, would have been ready to defend Naples against Austria.

Austria restores Ferdinand's authority.

Naples sent out about twenty-five thousand soldiers to oppose more than forty thousand Austrians, and even these were under command of two generals hostile to each other. Defeat was certain. Ferdinand returned supported by foreign soldiers. The most reactionary measures were introduced, — the press gagged, books containing liberal ideas suppressed, public schools closed, and civilization set back a century.

Revolution in Piedmont. — In the early part of 1821, an attempt at revolution occurred in Piedmont. Here

the government was not quite as corrupt as in Naples, but there was the same longing for liberal institutions. The aged king, Victor Emmanuel, although a despot, was no such hypocrite as the king of Naples. His return from exile, in 1814, had been marked by the reactionary measures already noted, yet personally he had the respect and affection of his most enlightened subjects. These were eager for local reform and Italian independence, and their problem was how to obtain constitutional government without overthrowing their king. The liberal leaders, therefore, assumed that all the unhappy conditions in the country were caused by his ministers, and they hoped, by great efforts for reform and for extension of the territory of Piedmont, to interest the king himself. It is quite possible that this could have taken place if the revolutions in Spain and in Naples had not been held up to him by Metternich as a warning to all monarchs who should listen to demands of subjects. The liberal plotters were mostly military men. They thought if the army should demand a constitution the king could not fail to be interested. Whom could they interest in their designs, who would have access to the king?

A liberal prince.

Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, was head of the younger branch of the House of Savoy. King Victor Emmanuel had no sons, and his brother, Charles Felix, was childless; hence Charles Albert would come to the throne after these. He was approached by the liberal leaders with their

constitutional plans. He listened with interest, and for a time it seemed as though he would assist in making the state, over which he would some day rule, a constitutional one. Depending on the prince, the conspirators laid plans to march into Lombardy as soon as the Austrian troops should be withdrawn for the invasion of Naples. Everything was ready. March 8 was set as the day for the beginning of the revolt.

The leaders had a conference with Charles Albert, March 6, and left him believing that he was heart and soul with them, but the next day he informed the minister of war of the plot. Probably fear of the great risk he was incurring rather than intentional treachery was his motive. The leaders knew that the execution of their plans must be postponed, and sent countermanding orders to their accomplices in other cities; but word reached them too late. The movement began March 10.

For two days King Victor Emmanuel hesitated as to what course to pursue. The old aristocrats came to the palace and offered to fight the soldiers and crowds of people who were clamoring for a constitution. Soon it was rumored that a large body of revolutionary soldiers were about to invade Turin, the capital. This was more than the aged king was prepared to resist. He felt the defence to be inadequate and himself weary and too old to cope with the difficulties. He would shift the burden to other shoulders by abdication. His

Victor Emmanuel abdicates.

brother and successor, Charles Felix, was absent, and some one must act as regent until his arrival. If Charles Albert had not already compromised himself with the revolutionists, there would have been no doubt of his being the proper person for this duty. As it was, there was no one else who could properly be called upon, so after some hesitation Charles Albert accepted the unwelcome task.

The abdication of the king left everybody in embarrassment. Charles Albert had been a traitor to both monarchy and the revolution. Neither could depend upon him, and every one knew that as soon as Charles Felix should return Austrian influences would be given full sway. The only hope of the liberals was to force some formal concession from Charles Albert before the new king should arrive. Under threats of bombardment of the city and desertion of all the soldiers, the regent proclaimed the Spanish constitution. There was, however, little prospect that any one would be better off for it. The regent, knowing that the new king would soon return and probably undo all of his acts, could only strive to maintain order and send for instructions to Charles Felix. No instructions were sent, but, instead, there came an order for Charles Albert to leave Turin, and a proclamation that the regent's acts were all illegal. Obeying the king seemed to be the easiest way out of his difficult position, so Charles Albert went to Novara and Modena, and thence, as the king refused to see him, to Tuscany.

The revolutionists, after the departure of Charles Albert, tried to keep up the fiction that they were living under a constitutional government, but they soon heard that the Austrians had stamped out the liberal fires in Naples and were ready to assist Charles Felix to extinguish the revolutionary patriotism in Piedmont. The troops who endeavored to uphold the constitution met those faithful to the king, together with Austrian allies, and were defeated at Novara, April 8, 1821. This ended the liberal movement in Italy for a time, but Piedmont, defeated and temporarily discouraged, was destined to be the leader in a later and successful effort for Italian independence.

The revolution fails.

The Revolution in Other Italian States. — While the most important revolutionary movements of Italy had occurred in the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies and Piedmont, there were plans and plotters in all the other states. As a result of the reactionary triumph and Austrian interference, liberals everywhere were persecuted. In the Papal States not only were the members of the Carbonari excommunicated, but also those of their friends who failed to denounce them.

In Tuscany the grand duke's mild reign had tended to produce less of conspiracy than elsewhere, and the few revolutionists who were arrested were punished so lightly that a message of remonstrance was sent from Austria. This one instance of leniency in Italy was more than overbalanced by the severity elsewhere.

Tuscany.

In the duchy of Modena the most heartless retaliation was visited upon those whose patriotic ambition led them to strive for Italian independence. Confessions were extorted by tortures of the most barbarous character. The hangman was kept busy and the prisons were full. Duke Francis not only punished his own subjects but succeeded in having suspected persons sent from Parma for punishment.

Modena.

Lombardy and Venetia were the property of Austria, and these states were prevented from joining in conspiracies by the Austrian troops and police constantly stationed there. Nevertheless, many suspected persons were seized and sent to Austrian prisons. Most of them were men of distinction in literary or business pursuits. The indignities they were made to suffer were more like those we should expect to be devised by savages than by his Majesty Francis I, Emperor of Austria, and yet there is the best of evidence that the emperor busied himself with the petty details of the daily life of these political prisoners rather than with the great interests of his thirty million subjects.

Lombardy and Venetia.

Second Period of Italian Revolution. — It was not mere chance that there were revolutions in so many states about the year 1830. There existed, with headquarters in Paris, a sort of "International" committee, composed of political exiles from all parts of Europe. There was, no doubt, a plan of the committee that revolutions against tyrannical rulers should begin at the same time

in Spain, France, and Italy. But the acts of Charles X brought about the revolution in France before it was ready elsewhere. The success of the revolutionists in France led the Italians to expect help from them, especially after it was announced that the policy of Louis Philippe's government would be to allow no intervention in the affairs of one country by another. Austria then would not be allowed to come and stop the liberal movements as she had done in 1820 and 1821. In these years the disturbances had been in the kingdom of Naples in the southern part of Italy, and in Piedmont in the northern part of Italy, but in 1831 it was in central Italy, in Modena, and the States of the Church, that the risings occurred.

Liberals betrayed.

Duke Francis of Modena had been especially severe with revolutionists in 1821, but in 1831 he was found conniving with one of the leaders of liberalism. It seems not at all unjust to him to say, in the light of later events, that he feigned his interest in reform merely for the purpose of gaining the confidence of the liberals to betray them, and thus free himself from the prospect of their future activity. At any rate he encouraged Menotti to incite revolution in Tuscany and the Papal States, and then had him seized and executed.

In Bologna, one of the Papal States, the people drove out the pope's prolegate in February, 1831, and set up a temporary liberal government without conflict. A dozen other cities accomplished the same result, and for

a short time they gave themselves up to rejoicing over their new-found liberty.

The easy victory in the Papal States had been possible only because from November 30, 1830, to February 1, 1831, there had been no real head to the government. Pope Pius VIII had died on the former date, and Gregory XVI, his successor, had not been elected until February. Thus the revolutionary agitators had an opportunity to work without interference. The new pope immediately applied to the king of Naples for help, but was refused, probably from fear of offending the new French king, Louis Philippe, whose wife was a Neapolitan princess and aunt of King Francis of Naples. The new pope then wrote of his woes and danger to the emperor of Austria, hoping to receive assistance from him in spite of the understanding that the French government would allow no intervention. The revolutionists themselves had faith that the French, because of the announced doctrine of non-intervention, would not allow Austria to take part. They made every effort to propitiate France even to refusing the further services of the two sons of Louis Bonaparte, who had been eager to help. The elder of these, Charles, soon died; the other, Louis, lived to be Emperor Napoleon III.

Papal States.

Austria again crushes Italian Revolution. — Metternich, Austria's prime minister, was not in the least frightened by the rumor that France would prevent intervention. To restrain Louis Philippe he even

threatened to release the son of Napoleon, who was detained at the Austrian court, practically a prisoner, and allow the Bonapartist sentiment in France to cause the downfall of the July monarchy. Metternich then, without any fear of France, caused Austrian troops to go to central Italy and crush all the rising hopes of the liberals.

In this second period of revolution the Italians had again failed, but not because they were unable to coerce or drive out their despotic rulers. It was Austria in each case who had overpowered them. Austria then was the enemy against which those interested in a free and united Italy must strive. In 1820, 1821, and 1831, the liberals found it comparatively easy to force the desired reforms from their rulers or to drive them from the country, but it was not so easy a matter to contend against the military power of Austria. All energy must be turned toward crowding Austrian power and influence out of Italy. This was the goal toward which the Italians would strive, and they would not rest until it should be accomplished.

Liberal Leaders arise. — If Italy were to succeed in gaining independence, there must be some influence or some leader to draw the attention of the people in all the states toward a united effort for the accomplishment of common ends. So far, there had not been found anywhere the wisdom to use the liberty temporarily obtained by the overthrow of bad systems. There was also lacking the harmony necessary to strengthen any cause.

Conspiracies had begun the liberal movements in 1820, 1821, and 1831, but no generally recognized leaders had appeared. After the failures in 1831, such leaders came forward. Three men, Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Cavour were leaders in thought and action for the following thirty years.

Joseph Mazzini.

Joseph Mazzini had been a member of the Carbonari, and while he was in the prison in Savona he laid the plans for an organization to be called "Young Italy." Its purpose was to unite all Italians who desired to deliver their country from foreign masters and found a free, united republic. Mazzini was the exact opposite of Metternich and more, for his theories and dreams outlined a freer social system than has yet proven practicable. Although he was much of a dreamer, his "Young Italy" grew wonderfully. He was soon banished from the country, but his writings were constantly circulated. They were full of his political ideal. He asked the question, "Are we to have a country?" and reaches the conclusion that "only a republic can unite all popular sentiments." Although Mazzini's theories were too radical to be successful, his society of "Young Italy" served as the means of creating the national sentiment which ultimately, under other guidance, succeeded in establishing an independent Italy.

Garibaldi.

Joseph Garibaldi had been obliged to flee from Italy because of his connection with an insurrection. He was a sailor, and once when he landed in an Asiatic port he heard of the society of "Young

Italy" and immediately enrolled himself as a member and became one of the champions of the idea of Italian liberty.

A young engineer officer by the name of Cavour was punished in 1831 for having uttered liberal opinions; again in 1834 he was disgraced for the same cause, but his ambition for himself and for Italy was in no way diminished, and he prophesied at the time that he should some day be minister of Italy.

Cavour.

"Young Italy" demanded a "republic without compromise"; but there were many patriots who believed that a free Italy would be stronger under a monarchical government. Garibaldi was a republican, but later, when the independence was actually achieved, acquiesced in the continuance of monarchy.

Cavour ultimately became the leader in the successful movement for a United Italy, and always believed that a monarchy was the best form of government. The period between 1831 and the next struggle for independence, in 1848, was notable for the development of these leaders and a few other political reformers, and for the education of the people for liberty through observation of the failures in government in the various Italian states during those years. New rulers came to the thrones of Naples, Rome, and Piedmont about the same time, during the revolutionary year of 1831.

New Rulers in Italy.—Ferdinand II became king in Naples in November, 1830. His father had been so bad, both as man and king, that the people of the kingdom

had great hopes of better rule when Ferdinand dismissed some of his father's favorites. Some of his early acts even led to the belief that he would favor liberal government, but his true character soon appeared. He was in favor of no reform, but rather of increasing his personal authority. He soon became so hated that insurrections broke out in several successive years. These increased his severity, and he filled the prisons with victims of his suspicions.

Ferdinand II.

The Asiatic cholera swept over Italy in 1835, 1836, and 1837, and so panic-stricken were the people that it was believed by many that the king had caused or allowed the food and water of the people to be poisoned. Absurd as this belief was, it shows how Ferdinand and his government were hated and feared, and how under such conditions liberalism was likely to grow.

Pope Gregory XVI was king in the states of the Church. The revolution of 1831 had shown that he could not maintain his position as temporal ruler without foreign support. His administration, both civil and ecclesiastical, was such that many of his subjects were willing to conspire for his overthrow.

Gregory XVI.

The other new ruler in 1831 was Charles Albert, in Piedmont. His relations with the liberals in the revolution in 1821 had caused him, for ten years, to be distrusted, both by the liberals and reactionists. When he became king he talked of reform, and thus gave the liberals hope, but he retained the reactionist ministers

of his predecessor, and thus encouraged their opponents. His acts for seventeen years were now on one side and again on the other, so that no one knew, and least of all himself, whether he had any sincere convictions or not; yet of the three most important rulers in Italy he was the only one who could by any possibility be looked to for assistance in the next strife for national independence. He seemed to be waiting for something to stir him from his lethargy. In 1848 he joined the movement to drive out the foreigners, and promised that if success should come he would grant a constitution. The promise was later made good by his son, Victor Emmanuel.

Charles Albert.

House of Savoy — Carignano.

CHARLES ALBERT (1798–1849).
Reigned 1831–1849.
|
VICTOR EMMANUEL II (1820–1878).
Reigned 1849–1878.
|
HUMBERT I (1844–1900).
Reigned 1878–1900.
|
VICTOR EMMANUEL III (Born 1869).
Present king. Began to reign 1900.

Section VI.

Spain, 1809-1843.

Beginning of Liberal Ideas. — The efforts for constitutional government, which began in most European countries after the downfall of Napoleon, might have been seen in Spain while he was still the war-lord of the Continent. While Joseph Bonaparte was supported on the Spanish throne by French soldiers, there was a large party calling itself "Patriots" which still claimed to be loyal to Ferdinand; but Ferdinand was still in France, and the system which had belonged to the absolute monarchy had been entirely swept away.

This old system had been as bad as it could be. The king, instead of exercising authority himself, had left it to the little group about his person, called the *camarilla*. It was generally composed of the queen, the royal confessors, and personal favorites. It had not been uncommon that an unworthy favorite of the king or the queen was the real ruler of Spain. At the time of Napoleon's interference in Spanish affairs, the nominal king was Charles IV, but the actual sovereign was Godoy, the queen's favorite. The Spanish people not only suffered from the tyranny of this misuse of royalty, but also from the extraordinary power of the clergy. The power of both *camarilla* and clergy was overthrown by the French. Those of the Spaniards who opposed French influence, and, for the most part, lived in the provinces

distant from the capital, organized juntas to inaugurate a government more to their liking.

Constitution of 1812. — During the conflict, national consciousness sprang into life, and a junta of the reform party elected a representative body, in 1810, which took the name "Cortes," although it in no way resembled the former body which was called by the same name and was composed of nobility and churchmen.

This Cortes followed the example of the National Assembly of France of 1789 in abolishing feudal rights and privileges and class distinctions, and in framing a constitution. This constitution has been commonly known from the year in which it was issued as the "Constitution of 1812." It not only introduced modern political ideas into Spain, but served as the basis for revolutionary and constitutional movements in several European states.

Model for other states.

Except that all forms of religion but the Catholic were prohibited, a thoroughly liberal and democratic system was created. As in the French Constitution of 1791, the head of the state was to be a king, but the Cortes and the ministers would control the legislative and executive authority. Provision was made that the constitution should not be modified for eight years. This was to guard against the well-known absolutist principles of Ferdinand, whose return was anticipated as soon as the English and Spanish forces could drive out the French.

Return of Ferdinand. — The campaign of Moscow broke the strength of Napoleon, and in 1814 Ferdinand

was free to go back to Spain. The Spanish constitution had been made by the leading military men. The nobility and clergy were, of course, opposed to it, and the uneducated mass of the people were indifferent. Ferdinand VII returned to power, as did the monarchs in other states which had been subservient to Napoleon. He was a man of no principle or honest ambition, treacherous, and distrustful of every one. As he returned, the people along his route, following the lead of monks and nobles, hailed the return of "the absolute king."

Assuming the voices of those who shouted to be representative of all Spain, Ferdinand declared the constitution void, abolished the Cortes, and denounced as traitors all who had upheld either. Many of the most distinguished men, supporters of the constitution, were thrown into prison. Generals who had fought the French and made Ferdinand's return possible were among them. All the evils of the old system were restored, *camarilla*, inquisition, and aristocratic privileges. The king's confessors were his most trusted advisers, and the royal decrees showed plainly their clerical origin. The clergy and nobility were exempted from taxation, the press placed under strict censorship, and monasteries restored. At the same time the army was left without pay. The officers were forced to beg or starve, and common soldiers turned to highway robbery for a livelihood.

Reactionary measures.

This state of affairs continued for six years, till 1820,

and as many as fifty thousand persons were said to have been in prison for opposition to Ferdinand's system. Several attempts at revolution were made during this period, but a successful outbreak did not occur until an attempt was made to send the troops, in unseaworthy ships, to subdue the revolted South American colonies.

Revolution of 1820. — While the Spaniards were trying to rid themselves of French rule, they were developing military leaders who would be capable of resisting their own tyrannical king, and who were to be the leading revolutionary spirits for years to come. On New Year's Day, 1820, General Riego proclaimed the Constitution of 1812 before his command, which had been ordered to sail for America. The news of this revolt started insurrection in other places until Madrid itself was about to revolt. Then Ferdinand made haste to promise partial reforms. For fear that he would lose his throne entirely he agreed to again accept the Constitution of 1812.

A provisional junta was formed by the revolutionists to watch the king until the promised Cortes should assemble in July. Meantime, the junta assumed executive authority and abolished the *camarilla* and inquisition, released those who were in prison for support of the constitution, and reëstablished the liberties which Ferdinand had abolished in 1814. The king, compelled to accept all these changes, could only endeavor to conceal his rage and wait until help should come.

In the Cortes the moderates were opposed by the radicals and conspired against by the king. Efforts were made by the palace guards and by an "army of faith," organized by a priest to restore the "absolute king." The mass of the ignorant population, from long habit, was on the king's side, so the constitutionalists were obliged to maintain themselves amidst constant conflict. They might have completely trampled down the absolutists in time, had not foreign aid come to the absolutists' cause.

So great a portion of the territory of Spain was in the hands of the Church that without taxing this property there could not be enough funds for the administration of the government. When some of the lands belonging to the suppressed monasteries were offered for sale the higher clergy objected seriously, and were supported in this protest by the pope.

The king, hating the liberal government, and only too anxious to comply with the desires of the clergy, called upon France to assist him to reconquer his kingdom.

French Interference. — At the congress of Verona, in 1822, the members of the Holy Alliance discussed the question of intervention in behalf of Ferdinand. France was willing to undertake to crush the Spanish constitution. A French army under the command of the Duke of Angoulême marched over the Pyrenees to put an end to liberal government in the peninsula, to be assisted, if necessary, by the members of the Holy Alliance. A lavish use of money facilitated the march

of the French toward Madrid. Spanish officers and soldiers found it easier to accept bribes than to fight. No real military opposition was encountered by the forces of the Duke of Angoulême on the road to the Spanish capital.

The constitutional government and the Cortes withdrew from Madrid to Seville, taking the king with them in spite of his plea of illness. The treacherous nature of Ferdinand was too well known for them to trust his adherence to his oath to the constitution unless he were in the hands of the constitutional government itself. The French army followed to Seville, where the Cortes was in session. As the invaders approached, the Cortes and government retreated further to Cadiz, again taking the king. The siege of Cadiz was begun by land and water in June, 1823. By the latter part of September the soldiers of the garrison as well as the inhabitants of Cadiz were ready to surrender, but here a serious difficulty arose. The king, though nominally head of the constitutional government, was really the prisoner of his ministers, and the Duke of Angoulême refused to treat with any one but the king, and with him only when he was free.

French successes.

It was the desire of the French government to relieve Ferdinand from the control of those who had forced the Constitution of 1812 upon him, and yet have him accept institutions about as liberal as those of France. Ferdinand, on the last day of September,

signed a general amnesty to all concerned in the revolution, and promised a liberal constitution, "under the guaranty of the royal word." The next day he was carried across the bay to the French headquarters. The treachery in his heart showed itself sooner than any one would have thought of looking for it. He tried to induce two generals, who had accompanied him in the boat, to land with him, and upon their refusal, he shouted, after he himself was safe on shore, "Villains! you are lucky in escaping me."

Ferdinand's duplicity.

Ferdinand's Second Restoration.—Within a few months all other places held by the Spanish constitutionals surrendered to the French, and Ferdinand was free to wreak his vengeance on all who had not escaped to other countries. As soon as he found himself in the French camp, he issued a proclamation declaring all acts of the constitutional government since 1820 void, claiming that he had heretofore sanctioned them under compulsion. Under the influence of nobles and priests he authorized the imprisonment or execution of thousands of constitutionalists. The French opposed this barbarism no further than to offer a remonstrance. Riego, who had opened the revolution of 1820, was first abused outrageously in prison and then hanged. From the close of the year 1823, till his death in 1833, King Ferdinand VII was in constant conflict with his subjects. A reign of terror was carried on against those who believed in the sovereignty of the people. Possession of

foreign books or Spanish books printed during the constitutional period (1820–1823) was sufficient reason for prosecution. A young man was hanged in Madrid for crying, "Hurrah for liberty!" and also a young widow at Granada for embroidering a flag with the inscription, "Law, Liberty, and Equality."

Origin of the Carlist Party. — Tyrannical as he was, Ferdinand was not absolutist enough to please the apostolic party, which formed the "Society of the Destroying Angel," and adopted the king's brother Carlos as a leader. Carlos, however, took no active part against Ferdinand until after the birth of Ferdinand's daughter Isabella, in 1830. In order that his daughter might succeed him on the throne rather than his brother Carlos, Ferdinand issued a decree setting aside the Salic law. With this law in force, as it had been since the first Bourbon came to the Spanish throne, Carlos was the legitimate heir. Ferdinand announced the reëstablishment of the old Castilian law, by which the daughter of a monarch took precedence of brothers or nephews. Carlos refused to recognize the decree, and a conflict between rival claimants to the Spanish throne was thus begun which has disturbed and distracted the country at intervals up to the present (1902).

With the death of Ferdinand in 1833, the political affairs were, if possible, in a more tangled condition than before. Christina, the queen, was regent for her three-year-old daughter Isabella. By nature and inclination she was as much opposed to liberal constitutional gov-

ernment as Ferdinand had ever been, but the apostolic party, urging the claim of Carlos for the throne, could certainly not be expected to support his rival. Hence, from sheer necessity of some support, Christina must confide the fortune of the infant queen to the liberals. Carlos had as supporters the majority of the clergy and a part of the army. The queen could depend only upon those holding office and part of the army. For a short time the prime minister attempted the impracticable course of ruling without the assistance of the liberals and in opposition to the Carlists; but to withstand the determined attacks of the Carlists all the strength of the liberals was needed for the party of the regent called "Christinos." "Carlist" and "Christino" were the battle-cries of the two parties, and conflict on the same or similar questions has existed in Spain to the present.

Liberal support needed.

Loss of South American Colonies. — The Spanish colonies in Mexico, Central and South America, had all revolted at various times from 1810 onward. It had been the attempt to send troops to subdue them which started the revolution in Spain, in 1820. When by French help Ferdinand once more was master of Spain it was already too late to crush freedom in the colonies. In January, 1825, the English government recognized the independence of all the Spanish colonies in South America, chiefly because it would be advantageous to trade interests.

Christina's Regency. — The years of Christina's regency were full of conflict. The Carlists carried on a harassing warfare, and the two factions of the liberals were in constant strife over offices and form of government. The moderates and progressists were divided as to the extent of royal influence to be permitted. The progressists adhered to the democratic principles of the Constitution of 1812, in which the representatives of the people were everything and royalty nothing. The moderates, from whom the ministers were at first chosen, decided to grant a new constitution, by which the administration should have far more authority.

Christina, in her daughter's name, proclaimed a royal statute providing for the assembly of a Cortes. The Cortes was to be composed of two chambers or "estates." The first "estate" was to be composed of men appointed by the crown from the upper clergy, wealthy nobles, and citizens. The second "estate" was to be elected for three years by property owners. In many respects this "statute" was like the charter given by Louis XVIII to France in 1814. The ministry which took the place of the *camarilla* of the old absolutist system was not responsible to the Cortes, and, indeed, could govern quite independently of it, for in case of conflict the ministers could dissolve the Cortes and could influence a new election so as to be sure of a favorable majority. The Statute of 1834 may be said to have satisfied no one, yet it was the beginning of a constitutional life for Spain which has been contin-

Statute of 1834.

ued in an irregular way ever since. No great stability has been secured.*

In 1836 the progressists revolted and demanded of the queen the restoration of the Constitution of 1812. She was forced to accept a ministry from the progressist party which secured the adoption of a constitution which was a compromise between that of 1812 and the Statute of 1834, and was known as the "Constitution of 1837." The provisions of one or the other of these two constitutions have been in force at various times, according to whether moderates or progressists were, for the time being, in power.

Carlist Wars. — The first Carlist war lasted five years (1834–1839). It was conducted in an irregular manner in different parts of the country, with few actual battles. The Carlists used guerrilla methods, carried little baggage, and were favored by the population in the mountainous districts. Barbarous and retaliatory methods were used on both sides. Each party secured help from abroad, the Christinos from France and England, and the Carlists from the absolutist governments of eastern Europe. A quadruple alliance was formed in 1834 between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, the object of which was to resist the pretender Carlos in Spain, and to uphold the constitutional throne of Maria da Gloria in Portugal against the attacks of the pretender Miguel. Miguel

First Carlist war.

* In twenty-five years, 1833 to 1858, there were 47 presidents of the council, 61 ministers of the interior, 78 of finance, and 96 of war. — *Seignobos.*

was a cousin of Carlos, and pursued the same methods to drive his niece from the throne of Portugal as Carlos used towards his niece Isabella. Dissensions among the followers of Carlos weakened his cause, and the skill of Espartero, the Christino leader, forced him to flee to France in 1839. In 1845 he bequeathed his claims and conflict to his son.

Military movements of more or less serious nature disturbed Spain up to 1876, and since that time there have been frequent threats of Carlist risings.

End of Christina's Regency. — While her generals were fighting to maintain the throne for her daughter Isabella, Christina was forfeiting all the respect and affection that the Spanish people ever had for her, by her immoralities. She was compelled to flee to France in 1840, and General Espartero was named regent by the Cortes.

When Isabella was declared of age in 1843, Christina, although not renamed regent, returned to Spain and exercised much influence, but not often for the good of the country.

Spanish Bourbons.

CHARLES IV (1748–1819).
Reigned 1788–1808.
|
FERDINAND VII (1784–1833).
Reigned March–May, 1808, and 1814–1830.
|
ISABELLA II (1830 ——).
Reigned 1833–1868. Deposed 1868. Lives (1902) in Paris.
|
ALPHONSO XII (1857–1885).
Reigned 1874–1885.
|
ALPHONSO XIII (1886 ——).
Born a king, 1886.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD OF GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF NATIONALITY, 1848-1870.

SECTION I.

From the Second French Republic to the Downfall of the Second Empire, 1848-1870.

The Republic begins. — When, on the morning of the 24th of February, 1848, Louis Philippe at last recognized that his government was no longer possible, he abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris. The Duchess of Orleans, mother of the ten-year-old prince, at once made her way, with the prince and his younger brother, to the Chamber of Deputies, to secure the recognition of her son as king. But no sooner had one of the Deputies announced that the Orleans monarchy "rests upon the heads of a woman and a child" than the hall was invaded by a mob of revolutionists. The transaction of regular business was impossible. The duchess and her two sons escaped with difficulty from the hall, and in the mob outside the two little princes were separated from her and were not found for some hours.

With the invasion of the Chamber of Deputies by the mob, all hope of monarchy was gone; government of any kind was possible only under the form of a republic.

Lamartine therefore proposed the establishment of a provisional government, and every one present in the Chamber (workmen, soldiers, and members) was called upon to vote. Seven names were announced as having been chosen for members of the provisional government. These men (Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier-Pages, Ledru-Rollin, and Crémieux) made their way as speedily as possible to the Hôtel de Ville. There they found that another provisional government had been chosen, composed in part of the same men and in part of several leaders of the socialist party. To avoid conflict the two were united, but the socialists were soon the means of causing dissension in the government. For two months this provisional government succeeded in maintaining order, although there were several attempts at insurrection by the extreme socialists. Lamartine deserves great credit for his Herculean efforts in behalf of an orderly republic during this period. Three insurrectionary outbreaks occurred, all of which were put down by his firmness and influence.

Provisional government.

The National Workshops. — The most serious hindrance to the new government was its acceptance of the socialist demand that the government should furnish work to all who were idle. The impossibility of providing workshops and profitable employment for the large numbers who applied soon became evident. Within a few weeks the number on the pay-rolls rose to one hundred thousand. The work accomplished was practically value-

less, consisting principally in digging useless trenches outside the city. The treasury was being so rapidly emptied that largely increased taxation was necessary.

By June of 1848, it was evident that the national workshops must be closed and that the workmen must either be enrolled in the army or sent from the capital into the departments. The attempt to execute these plans caused a rebellion of those who were only too eager to receive pay for little work. It was found necessary to place Paris in a state of siege and intrust all government to a dictator, General Cavaignac. This workshop war resulted in the death or transportation of twelve thousand or more of the rebels. General Cavaignac remained as president from this time until the election of the regular president in December.

A National Assembly had been elected in April, which labored through the summer at the preparation of a constitution.

Bonaparte elected President.— Among the Deputies elected to the National Assembly was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. As his presence in Paris at this time seemed likely to cause excitement, he returned to England until September, when, without attracting much attention, he took his seat as a member in the Chamber of Deputies. He became a candidate for election as president in December. General Cavaignac and two or three leaders of the socialists were also candidates, but the name Napoleon had great influence with the mass of voters throughout the nation. The history of the first Napoleon, the two

attempts of Louis Napoleon at Strasburg and Boulogne, the works which he had issued while a prisoner in the castle of Ham, all tended to increase the interest attached to his name. The result of the election showed nearly five and one-half million votes for Prince Louis Napoleon, to about one and one-half millions for General Cavaignac, and insignificant numbers for other candidates. Louis Napoleon entered upon his office as president of the French Republic, December 20, 1848.

Conflict between President and Legislature. — As soon as the Legislative Assembly began its sessions in May, 1849, it was seen that the majority of its members were monarchists, either legitimatists or Orleanists. It very soon became evident that there was to be a deadlock between the president and the legislative body. An outbreak of the social democrats, in June, 1849, caused such severe measures to be used against them that little further trouble was to be apprehended from that source. The president and the legislature were largely occupied with conflicts, more or less active, during the remainder of the year 1849 and the year 1850.

Party conflicts.

A provision of the constitution declared that the president, elected for four years, was ineligible for reelection. It seemed probable to all parties that there would be some new kind of revolution when the term of office of the president should expire. The monarchist factions in the legislature were each planning for victories for their own candidates, who were expected to restore, for the one party

the Count of Chambord as the heir of the elder Bourbon line, and for the other the Count of Paris for the Orleanists. At the same time, the friends of the president were agitating the country for a prolongation of his term of office or the reëstablishment of the empire. By the autumn of 1851, it was evident that a *coup d'état* by some one was about to be accomplished; either the legislature would seize the power and imprison the president, or the president would imprison his opponents who were in the legislature. Either movement would be decidedly illegal, and success was likely to be with the party that should strike first.

The Coup d'État. — On the night of December 1, 1851, a number of members of the legislature, military officers, and political agitators, were seized by the police and imprisoned. On the morning of December 2 Paris was found to be placarded by proclamations in the name of the president, calling upon the people to vote for a change in the constitution whereby the president's term of office should be extended to ten years, and offering as a candidate for reëlection President Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The resulting election gave seven and one-half million votes for the prolonging of the president's term of office.

The Empire revived. — Louis Napoleon now moved his official residence from the Elysée Palace to the Tuileries, and the year 1852 produced many events which recalled to the public mind the glories of the First Empire. Merely residing in the Tuileries was a reminder

of monarchy. The prince's own head was placed on coins. The imperial gilt eagles were restored to the army standards. A "Musée des Souveraines" was established, in which relics of the first Napoleon were prominently displayed. Upon journeys which the president took through different parts of the country, he was hailed with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

In November, 1852, the senate voted to restore the empire, and a popular election confirmed this decision by a greater number of votes than that which had prolonged the president's power a year before. On December 2, 1852, the anniversary of the establishment of the First French Empire, of the battle of Austerlitz, and of the *coup d'état* of 1851, Napoleon III was proclaimed emperor of the French. Most of the powers of Europe were so busily engaged with military movements in their own states that no opposition was offered to this change of government in France, although the czar postponed for some time his recognition of the new government.

The Second French Empire. — The history of the Second French Empire falls naturally into two divisions. The first period up to 1860 may properly be called the "Autocratic Empire," while the period from 1860 until the overthrow of Napoleon at Sedan marked the gradual growth of the government toward liberalism, and led, just before its downfall, to a really liberal empire.

The Autocratic Period. — The Autocratic Period was a singular mixture of democratic forces and despotic authority. The empire, like the previous republic, was

founded upon the principle of universal suffrage, and yet the departments of government were so thoroughly under the control of the emperor and of his personal friends that the popular vote showed the will of the authorities rather than the real sentiment of the people. One method by which this was accomplished was the introduction, in all elections, of official candidates, who were recommended at the expense of the government by posters placarded throughout France. Of course opposition candidates were permitted, but, as they had the expense to bear privately, they were not likely to enter into successful competition with the government candidates. Ordinary methods of electioneering were not permitted, and the balloting was under the direction of the mayors, who were appointed by the government.

Although in theory political newspapers were not subject to censorship, in practice many journals were suppressed for publishing articles which appeared to reflect upon the emperor and his government. Education was also so systematized as to be entirely under the authority of the administration. A great part of the machinery of government under the Second Empire was similar to that under the first Napoleon, and for this reason it has been quite customary for writers and others to minimize the ability of Napoleon III. In comparison with the first Napoleon he has even been called by some of his enemies, "Napoleon the Little." It

"Napoleon the Little" a misnomer.

would scarcely seem just, however, to say of a man who was able to maintain himself as ruler of France, by any means whatever, for a longer period than any one since Louis XV, that he was entirely devoid of political sagacity.

During the Autocratic Period of the empire, the government was supported by the army, by the commercial middle class, who preferred business to politics, and particularly by the clergy, who were won by Napoleon's re-establishment of papal authority in 1849, and were always ready to assist in carrying elections in favor of official candidates. A large number of violent radicals, nominally republicans, had been exiled after the *coup d'état*. Opposition to the emperor from this source did not show itself until the decline of the autocratic *régime*. The business class and laboring classes were content during this period, for as soon as order was established there began an era of prosperity. Speculation and commercial schemes occupied the wealthy, and laborers found employment in Paris in the vast improvements made in streets and buildings. Paris owes a great part of its beauty to-day to the broadening and straightening of streets during the reign of Napoleon III.

Supporters and opponents.

The Crimean War. — Although Napoleon had distinctly announced, before the establishment of the empire, that the change meant peace and not war, it was not long before the new government became involved in

conflict. For a long time there had been a petty strife going on between the pilgrims to Jerusalem of the Greek Catholic Church and those of the Roman Catholic Church. Both claimed certain rights in regard to the holy places. Jerusalem was under the dominion of the Turkish government, and, with duplicity not uncommon to that government, rights had been granted to each party which conflicted with those of the other. Russia undertook the defence of the Greek Catholics. England, fearful that Russia would gain too much power by pushing her way down to the Mediterranean, joined with France in the defence of Turkey. War began in 1854 between Russia on one side, and England, France, Turkey, and the kingdom of Piedmont on the other. The name given to this war is taken from the peninsula in which the severest fighting occurred, the Crimea.

No really great questions were at stake, and, while Russia was really defeated, the Peace of Paris in 1856 restored to all parties what they had lost during the campaign. The chief advantage of this war fell to France. She again took first rank in Europe, and Napoleon III gained some of the prestige which had belonged to the First Empire. Another item of importance accomplished at the Peace of Paris was a statement of the rights of neutrals and of what makes an effective blockade. It was here also that Cavour, admitted as the representative of Piedmont, made a statement before the representatives of all the powers that the next question of importance

Peace of Paris.

in Europe would be the consideration of the rights of Italy.

The Liberal Period. — From 1860 onward, Napoleon III seemed willing, and indeed anxious, to lead the empire toward modern constitutional liberalism. The legislative body was given new privileges, such as the right to issue an address in reply to the speech from the throne, to elect its own officers, and have its debates published in full. A relaxation of the supervision of newspapers allowed the organs of the republicans and the Orleans monarchists to spring up. No sooner had a relaxation of the personal government been begun than all enemies of the empire united to form what they called a "liberal opposition." This continually brought pressure to bear against the government, and finally caused its overthrow. The Chamber of Deputies, from 1863 onward, openly attacked the policy of the government, particularly the campaign in Mexico. The new kingdom of Italy had been established by the assistance of Napoleon, and, consequently, as the new kingdom encroached on the pope's territory the clerical party changed from friends to enemies.

England the model.

The government of England seemed to be the model toward which the emperor was striving. From 1867 to 1869 new liberties were given to the Chamber of Deputies, and the Senate, whose power had been extremely limited heretofore, became an upper house somewhat like the House of Lords. It participated in law making, but lost its authority

over the constitution because the right of amendment was taken away from it and given to the people, who decided such changes by popular vote.

Instead of accepting the liberal tendencies of the emperor with favor, his political enemies made use of all privileges granted to attack the government openly. The general amnesty of 1859 had permitted the return of all political exiles. These gradually joined themselves to the republican party and excited the people against the empire. In 1869 and 1870 they seemed likely to break out into insurrection in the manner of 1848, but the remodeling of Paris, which had been going on during the whole period of Napoleon III, had made barricade building less effective than it had been formerly. Streets had been straightened, and broad boulevards had taken the place of narrow streets paved with stones, which were so useful in barricade building. Napoleon lost much by his ill-advised effort to set up an empire in Mexico and to support Maximilian on the throne. In consequence of threats by the United States the French troops were withdrawn in 1866.

Olivier, prime minister.

In the early part of 1870 the transformation of the imperial government from an autocratic to a liberal one had gone so far that Émile Olivier, the leader of the liberals, became prime minister. The changes were submitted to the nation for popular vote, and seven millions voted in favor of them, against one and one-half millions opposed. But this very majority for the liberal empire

was, indirectly, the cause of its downfall. Certain ministers favorable to peace and opposed to the popular vote resigned, and in their place were chosen successors who were jealous of the increasing power of Prussia and were determined upon war.

Gramont, foreign minister.

The Duke of Gramont, who had been the French ambassador to Austria in 1866, became minister of foreign affairs. He it was who was chiefly responsible for bringing on the Franco-Prussian War. The direct cause of this great conflict was a petty matter, and one which in modern times need not have embroiled two great nations in strife. Napoleon had offered his mediation in the Schleswig-Holstein question between Austria and Prussia in 1866, and in the affairs of South Germany at the same time, and had endeavored by negotiations to obtain the possession of Luxemburg from Holland. In each of these instances he had failed to accomplish his purposes, chiefly on account of the influence of Bismarck, the Prussian prime minister.

Diminished prestige.

The great influence of the Second Empire, gained through the successful wars in the Crimea and in Italy, had been lost by the failure of the Mexican expedition, and the rebuffs which Napoleon had received in diplomacy brought a great number of Frenchmen to feel that successful war was the only means of establishing lost prestige.

Franco-Prussian War. — A pretext arose in the summer of 1870, when Spain, in search of a king, elected

Leopold of Hohenzollern. His family name was the same as that of the Prussian royal house, and he was a distant relative of King William I. This was seized upon by France as an opportunity to protest against Prussian increase of power by the placing of a Hohenzollern on the Spanish throne. The French ambassador at Berlin was instructed to demand of King William that Leopold should refuse the proffered crown. While William said that he had no authority over the prince, he did privately advise that the offer should be refused. It would seem that the affair was now at an end, but Gramont, determined upon a conflict, insisted that a guaranty should be given by King William that at no future time should any member of his family become a candidate for the throne of Spain. This was asking too much. No self-respecting king could submit to such dictation. The dignified reply received from Prussia was, however, exaggerated and distorted by the newspapers in Paris and magnified into an insult. Crowds in the street shouted, "On to Berlin!" and demanded that war should be declared. Napoleon himself was opposed to war for such a cause, yet he was finally persuaded by those near him, and war was declared on July 19, 1870.

"On to Berlin!"

Ever since Prussia's decisive victory over Austria in 1866, and the formation of the North German Confederation, France had watched with a jealous eye the growing prominence of Prussia. The probable union of the southern German states with the North German

Confederation to form a new Germany was regarded as a threat to French supremacy, which must be preserved by any means. It has been the fate of France to see the very war intended to humiliate Prussia become the cause of a united Germany, and to see Prussian supremacy firmly established. The southern German states, which had been allies of the first Napoleon, were thought to be more friendly to France than to Prussia, but the aggressive tone of the French minister Gramont toward King William, and the discovery that Napoleon III had desired to annex the left bank of the Rhine, stirred the German national sentiment. South and North joined with enthusiasm to resent French aggressiveness.

Prussian supremacy.

Comparison of the Opposing Forces. — The Prussian army was thoroughly organized and ready to move immediately, while the French army had been allowed to deteriorate since the unfortunate Mexican expedition. Not only were the French ill-prepared, but their forces were greatly inferior in numbers after the southern German states had added their troops to those of the Prussians. At the time of the first Napoleon it had always been the French who moved first and most rapidly, and anticipated the movements of the enemy. Prussia had the memory of her defeat at Jena, in 1806, to spur her to avoid the errors of that time. War was declared by the French Chamber on July 19, and by the end of the same month the Germans were on French soil.

The Germans Triumphant. — Near the end of July, Napoleon, having named the Empress Eugenie as regent during his absence, set out with his son to assume in person the command of the armies. The first battle at Saarbrück, on August 2, was a French victory. The prince imperial, fourteen years of age, had been brought to the front to learn the art of war by observation. Napoleon, in the dispatch to the empress telling of the first victory, mentioned with pride the "baptism of fire" which the young prince had undergone. It was his only opportunity of seeing a French victory, for the engagements following resulted favorably to the Germans. Their victory at Gravelotte on August 18 resulted in shutting up Marshal Bazaine with a large part of the French army in the fortress of Metz. Thus about one half of the French forces were removed from active participation in the war. Two weeks later, September 1, McMahon's army, which had been ordered to the relief of Metz, was defeated at Sedan, near the border of Belgium. The next day the emperor surrendered himself to King William, together with Marshal McMahon, about eighty-five thousand officers and soldiers, and a vast quantity of war material. Napoleon himself was sent to Cassel as a prisoner of war.

The Fall of the Empire. — The news of the disaster was received in Paris by the officers of the government, and kept from the public as far as possible for a day. As soon, however, as it became generally known, the excited

The Meeting between King William and Napoleon III, in Bellevue Castle, Sedan, on the 2d of September, 1870,

crowds on the streets began to cry "Forfeiture!" A motion was made in the Chamber of Deputies to depose Napoleon and his dynasty, and to establish a provisional government. To preserve the empire, if possible, the ministers desired the formation of a committee to carry on the government during the captivity of the emperor, and to defend it against the invading Germans. The discussion of the plan was to come before the Chamber of Deputies at a special session Sunday afternoon, September 4. Long before the hour appointed, the hall was filled with a miscellaneous crowd, including soldiers as well as workingmen, who were clamoring for a republic. The ministers, unable to enter, returned to the Tuileries and advised the Empress Eugenie to flee. Within a few hours the palace was in the hands of the people. The empress escaped to England, where she was soon joined by her son, and at the close of the war by Napoleon.*

Proclamation of a Republic. — The crowd moved from the Chamber of Deputies, drawing with them the members of the Left, and marched along the quays of the Seine to the Hôtel de Ville, from a window of which Gambetta, a prominent member of the legislative opposition, proclaimed a republic. Napoleon thus fell from power by a republican movement very similar to the one by which he had been elevated in 1848, though in 1870 there was no bloodshed in overturning the throne.

The government organized upon the proclamation of the republic was composed of eleven men, and was called

* Napoleon died in England in 1873.

the "Government of National Defence." It was not representative of the whole country, but merely of Paris. Nevertheless it undertook at once the labor of the defence of Paris and of those parts of France that were not occupied by the Germans. It made also an effort to solicit friendship for the new republic by sending M. Thiers on a mission to the various states of Europe. Although he brought back a few expressions of condolence, he aroused no sympathy of an active nature. The republic must first prove its right to exist by giving evidence of stability. The previous republics in France had not been of such character that monarchs were ready to hail a new one with delight.

Thiers' mission.

It was certainly in the minds of some to reproduce the Republic of 1792, for, when the proposition was made to change the flag, Gambetta declared "the tricolor was the flag of 1792 and 1793, and under it the French had been and yet would be led to victory." At various times during the first year of the new republic precedents from the First Republic were invoked.

The new Government of National Defence had not only to raise armies to fight foreign foes, but within Paris there was a portion of the population which wished to carry democracy to extremes, and in the spring of 1871 triumphed for a time under the name of the "Commune." This faction made two attempts to seize the government, one in October, 1870, and another in January, 1871, besides otherwise manifesting hostility.

Difficulties of government.

While the comparatively few regular soldiers and officers of the government were preparing for defence and provisioning the city, the Germans were bringing up troops and cutting off all communications. Unless Paris should receive assistance from outside it could resist cap-

Court between Tuileries and Louvre after the fire of May, 1871.

More money was spent in removing the ruins of the Tuileries in 1883 than would have been necessary to repair the palace. The republicans appeared to regard this building as the special reminder of royalty.

ture only as long as about two and one-half million people could be fed on the provisions that were already in the city. Gambetta left Paris in a balloon on October 6 for the purpose of organizing troops to come to the assistance of the city. Although he succeeded in raising considerable numbers, they lacked proper discipline and

experience, and did very little toward staying the success of the Germans.

Paris surrendered on January 28, 1871, and an armistice for three weeks was concluded, during which time a National Assembly was to be elected which would be competent to decide whether or not the war should be continued. The Assembly met at Bordeaux and elected Thiers "*head of the executive power.*" He, with two ministers, went to the German headquarters at Versailles to negotiate peace. The terms, which seemed very hard to the French, included the cession to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine and the payment, within three years, of about one billion dollars. German soldiers were to occupy French territory until the amount was paid. One other condition the Parisians submitted to, in order to save the fortress of Belfort, which the Germans demanded, — thirty thousand German troops were to march into Paris and remain until the treaty of peace was ratified by the Assembly at Bordeaux. They entered on March 1, and remained about two days.

Terms of surrender.

Front of Barricades at corner of Place de la Concord, 1871. They are built of bags of sand. (Photograph taken during the siege. Negative destroyed.)

The Commune. — Although this brief occupation caused no disturbance, for people in the vicinity of the portion occupied kept houses and stores closed, and newspapers ceased their publications during the occupation, the communistic element which had shown itself earlier, and a part of the National Guard, seized the opportunity to carry off a number of cannon from the Champs Elysée to Montmartre, in the northern part of the city. This was done, they said, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Germans. On March 18, those in possession of the guns, acting under the authority of a body calling itself the "Central Committee of the National Guard," refused the government's demand for their return. When soldiers were sent to take them the unorganized mob assassinated Generals Clement Thomas and Lecompte. The troops fraternized with the rebellious National Guard; the insurrectionists seized the city government and erected barricades, and M. Thiers and the members of the national government fled to Versailles. For

Rear of Barricades erected by Communists in Spring of 1871 at rue Florentin, corner of Place de la Concord. (From photograph taken during the siege. Negative destroyed about 1880.)

more than two months the Communists held Paris in a sort of reign of terror.

The regular troops, as soon as they returned from captivity in Germany, were employed to besiege Paris as the Germans had done six months earlier. When, finally, in the latter part of May, the Versailles troops effected an entrance into the city, the fighting was severe and merciless. Communists were shot by hundreds wherever taken, and they in turn killed a large number of priests and others who had not joined the Commune and had been held as hostages, and burned many of the finest public buildings.* Each of the republics of France has had its bitter fight with these terrorists, though the Communists held sway for a briefer period than the Terrorists of 1793 and the Social Democrats of 1848.

* Recent investigators have cast much doubt on the common story that women with buckets of oil and mops went about spreading the fires in the public buildings.

The Bonaparte Family from Napoleon I to the Present Pretender.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.—NAPOLEON I.——LUCIEN.———LOUIS.———JEROME.

Born 1768 — Died 1844. Born 1769 — Died 1821. Born 1765 — Died 1840. Born 1778 — Died 1846. Born 1784 — Died 1860.

DUKE OF REICHSTADT. LOUIS NAPOLEON. NAPOLEON JOSEPH.

Born 1811 — Died 1832. Born 1808 — Dethroned 1870 — Died 1873. Born 1822 — Died 1891.

PRINCE IMPERIAL. VICTOR NAPOLEON.

Born 1856 — Killed by Zulus, 1879. Present pretender, born 1862.

SECTION II.

Austria from Revolution of 1848 to 1867.

Excitement in Vienna. — Austria, whose authority had repressed all revolutionary movements during the century up to this time, now found herself disturbed. It had been the constant care of Metternich to prevent all constitutional liberty, and the people, unprepared to think or act for themselves, went greater lengths when once aroused than they would have gone if they had had some experience in self-government. The news of the February revolution elsewhere stirred the people of Vienna, in the early part of March, to make the usual demands, — freedom of the press, of speech, of religion, and representation of the people. The council of state, as a matter of course, refused to make any concessions, but the soldiers, uniting with the citizens in Vienna, forced the government to grant their demands. Metternich himself could not breathe the air of freedom, and escaped to England to insure his personal safety.

People temporarily successful.

The power of the government now ceased, and all activity was in the hands of the students and citizen guard. By the middle of May the government was forced to summon an assembly for the purpose of making a constitution. So continuous were popular tumults that Emperor Ferdinand was compelled to leave the city for Innsbruck in the Tyrol, which was always faithful to the

House of Hapsburg. During the spring and summer of 1848, Austria was completely in the hands of revolutionists, and, in general, the same scenes were enacted as in Paris at the same time. The situation in Austria was aggravated also by revolutionary movements going on against Austrian authority at the same time in Hungary, Bohemia, and Italy.

The Hapsburg authority was reëstablished first in Bohemia, where Prince Windischgrätz, an aristocratic tyrant, was in charge of the royal garrison. When the constituent assembly met in Vienna, little could be accomplished because of the various languages spoken by the delegates, due to the fact that the Austrian Empire is composed of a number of different nationalities and races. There was also continual conflict between populace and nobles. So great grew the disturbance that the more wealthy inhabitants of Vienna removed for safety. In October, when the government ordered soldiers from Vienna to march against the rebellious Hungarians, the soldiers refused to move. An attempt to compel them brought on a street fight. Barricades were erected; the minister of war was assassinated by the infuriated crowd, and the democracy of Vienna assumed complete control. The emperor, who had made some concessions to the people earlier in the season, could not thus see his authority entirely set at naught, and accordingly commissioned Prince Windischgrätz, who had succeeded in putting down the Bohemian revolt,

Government triumphant.

to conquer Vienna as though it were a foreign country. After a week's fighting of the most desperate character, this was accomplished, and the severest despotism wreaked revenge upon the people of Vienna.

The Hungarian Revolution. — Austrian authority was defied in every part of the empire in the year 1848. For a long time there had been difficulty between Hungary and the government at Vienna. Hungary, which had formerly been an independent kingdom, desired to retain this independence in the form of a personal union with Austria and to have a separate parliament and constitution of its own. The most important leader in Hungary at this time was Louis Kossuth. Kossuth's demand for a constitution in March, 1848, had been one of the definite causes of the uprising in Vienna. The Emperor Ferdinand was so severely pressed by the democratic forces in other parts of his empire that he granted the Hungarian demands. A separate ministry was given to Hungary, in which Kossuth had the department of finance.

Kossuth's demands granted.

The Hungarians were delighted with their position, and began at once to assume the same tone of authority over those states on their eastern border which were dependent upon them as that to which they had objected in Austria. This produced the same fruit here as elsewhere. If Hungary desired freedom from Austria, so did these dependencies desire freedom from Hungary. Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, led the attack against Hun-

gary. The insincerity of Ferdinand's grants to Hungary was now plainly seen, for while he in words declared his approval of the Hungarian plans, he was constantly in secret assisting Jellachich in his rebellion. So complicated grew the situation that the Austrian authorities

A Company of Croats.

in Hungary withdrew, and left Kossuth and his party in complete control.

The emperor treacherous.

When Ferdinand showed plainly where his interests lay by appointing Jellachich his lieutenant in Hungary, the Hungarians saw how the emperor had cheated them, and established a provisional government with Kossuth as dictator. The emperor, entangled with promises which he had made

and which he could not or never intended to carry out, abdicated in September, 1848, in favor of Franz Josef, his nephew. Hungary, while nominally maintaining her allegiance to Austria, refused to accept the new emperor unless he should acknowledge the Hungarian constitution. Windischgrätz was appointed by the new emperor to reduce the Hungarians to submission, but was unable to accomplish the task. Russia was called upon, and the czar, Nicholas, was only too willing to assist in this war, for successful rebellion in Hungary might arouse Poland. Indeed, many Poles were serving in the Hungarian army. After Italy was subdued, Haynau, who had been the most brutal of the Austrian generals in Italy, was sent to continue his cruelty in Hungary. Hungary was completely defeated, and many of the men who had been prominent during the brief period of Hungary's independence were executed. Kossuth escaped to Turkey, and later went to England and the United States. He remained in exile during the remainder of his life. (Died in Turin, 1894.)

Hungary subdued.

Thorough Absolutism restored. — When the Austrian government triumphed over all rebellious movements in Italy, Bohemia, Hungary, and in Austria's capital itself, an attempt was made to establish a centralized power. The demands of the various states in revolt had been for nationality, and for the rights of the people, and for a constitution. The government closed the assembly which had been attempting to form a constitution for Austria and then issued a constitution of its own

making, which declared the nations composing the empire to be equal, and established a Diet composed of deputies from each state. This constitution, which was dated March 4, 1849, was never put into execution, and less than three years later was withdrawn by imperial decree.

Humiliation of Hungary.

Hungary was declared, because of its revolt, to have forfeited its own constitution, and was, therefore, to submit to the new centralized system and be governed by officers sent from Austria. The former kingdom of Hungary was to be a mere province of an empire. This centralized military system held complete sway for ten years. Until 1859 political life ceased.

Franz Josef favors Reform. — In 1859 the war against the Italians and French lost all Austrian possessions in Italy except Venice. These disasters could be seen to be the direct result of the absolutist system. Credit was so exhausted that the emperor, Franz Josef, felt that the only hope of the restoration would be by aid obtained from the people in exchange for political reform. The eight years from 1859 to 1867 were devoted to experiments intended to draw together the different nations composing the empire and to harmonize conflicting interests.

Reform experiments.

From the beginning there were two parties which held opposing views. One had its stronghold in Austria proper and desired a central German administration at Vienna to be supreme, while the other was "Federalist,"

and demanded independence for Magyars, Czechs, Poles, and Venetians, and others who claimed "historic rights." The Federalist plan was first tried, and failed after a few months' trial, in 1860–1861.

Austrian defeat in Italy in 1859 had not been a severe enough chastisement to prevent her still opposing progress in Hungary. The effort of Franz Josef to have a legislative body for the whole empire could not succeed without the coöperation of Hungary, and Hungary refused to send delegates unless the liberties they demanded in 1848 were granted.

Any body representative of the whole empire was sure to contain discordant elements. The German-speaking members assumed an importance not recognized by the non-German members. The Germans are decidedly in the minority; the Magyars of Hungary are numerically the strongest division of the empire, while more than a dozen different dialects are spoken in the various states belonging to the House of Austria.

Racial differences.

In 1860 the emperor issued a "diploma" which was intended to compromise all difficulties by granting a qualified right of legislation to all the states but Hungary. This distinction against Hungary brought that state to the verge of rebellion. The Hungarians still refused to accept the abdication of Ferdinand, which took place in 1848, and would not crown Franz Josef King of Hungary until a Hungarian ministry should be established. Franz Josef would make no further con-

cessions; the Hungarian Diet would recognize no laws unless it had a part in making them, and this deadlock caused military rule to be reëstablished in Hungary.

Hungary isolated.

From 1861 to 1863 there existed a sort of armed neutrality between Hungary and the rest of the empire. In 1865 the emperor receded from his position, suspended the constitution which had not been acceptable to the whole of the empire, and himself in person opened a Hungarian Diet. He abandoned the position which he had formerly taken that Hungary had forfeited all rights by rebellion, and was willing to effect a reconciliation upon some concession being made by the Hungarian Diet. This was about to be completed in June of 1866 when the war between Austria and Prussia greatly altered the position of Austria in Europe.

The defeat of Austria by Prussia in this war forced the former to some radical modification of her government if she wished to retain a prominent position among the states of Europe. Repression of liberal aspirations could no longer be a permanent policy. It now became absolutely necessary for the Austrian government to obtain the good will of the Austrian states in the empire, and by internal reforms to conform with the spirit of the age.

Reform imperative.

At the end of the year 1866, Hungary recognized the abdication of Ferdinand, and in June of 1867 Franz Josef was crowned King of Hungary at the Hungarian

capital. The empire now took the title of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.*

All those who had been rebels in 1848–1849 were reconciled except Kossuth, who refused to return from exile. The authority of the pope in Austria, which was recognized by the Concordat of 1855, was felt to be burdensome by the non-Catholics in the empire and inconsistent with that liberty of religion which always goes with free government. So a modification of the Concordat was essential, unless it were entirely abolished. Laws called the "three confessional laws" were finally adopted with the intent of satisfying the opposing parties. By these, civil marriage was permitted; the state took charge of education, and the religious education of children whose father and mother were of different religion was provided for by allowing the boys to go with the father and the girls with the mother. The pope denounced these laws as void, and ordered the clergy to disregard them, and the government of Austria took little pains to see that they were enforced.

"Three confessional laws."

* The agreement which brought about this settlement was called the "*Ausgleich*." The two states are entirely separate in all local affairs, and the monarch is the only bond between them. The *Ausgleich* which specified these relations is an agreement which lasts for ten years at a time. Each state has a constitution of its own.

Austrian Hapsburgs.

MARIA THERESA (1717–1780).
Reigned 1740–1780.

- JOSEPH II (1741–1790).
  Reigned as co-ruler, 1765–1780.
  As ruler to 1790.
- LEOPOLD II (1747–1792).
  Reigned 1790–1792.
  - FRANCIS I of Austria, FRANCIS II of Holy Roman Empire (1768–1835).
    Reigned 1792–1835.
    - FERDINAND I (1793–1875).
      Began reign 1835. Abdicated 1848.
    - ARCHDUKE FRANCIS.
      - FRANZ JOSEF (1830 ——).
        Present emperor, began to reign 1848.

SECTION III.

Germany, 1848-1871.

Revolutionary Year in Prussia. — Prussia had an experience in 1848 very similar to that of Austria. The people desired to share in the government, but very little could be obtained from the king, Frederick William IV, toward the establishment of a representative parliament. The news from Paris and Vienna created the greatest excitement in Berlin, and, on the 18th of March, delegates of the citizens demanded of Frederick William the usual liberal program. Seeing that it was useless to resist, the king granted their demands. The people, however, took offence at the military guard about the palace, and a conflict began which lasted for two days. The great numbers of the people, however, finally triumphed over the soldiers, and the king, for a time, submitted to all their demands. He headed a joyous procession through the streets of Berlin, and made patriotic speeches. He issued a proclamation addressed to the German nation as though he were willing to recognize a national union. In this he made the promise that Prussia should take the lead in Germany, — a promise which was to be kept later by his successor.

The constitutional convention which the king now permitted to assemble fell completely under the influence of the demagogues and the pressure of the Berlin populace. The same radical measures were passed by this

convention in doing away with nobility and distinctions of rank as were passed in the National Assembly in Versailles during the French Revolution. This was going too far to be permitted by the king. The convention was ordered to be removed to Brandenburg, where it would be less under the influence of the democrats.

Constitutional convention.

Only the conservative portion of the convention submitted, and this was soon dissolved by the government authority and a constitution issued without consultation with the convention. This constitution, although not made by the representatives of the people, was of such a nature as to bring Prussia into the list of modern constitutional governments.

Revolutionary Movements in Southwestern Germany. — While in several instances it has been a revolution in Paris which caused outbreaks elsewhere, in the third revolutionary period in the nineteenth century it was Germany which began the movement. In 1847, and the beginning of 1848, in Southwestern Germany there was much democratic agitation. The Grand Duchy of Baden seemed to be most affected by this movement. Early in 1848 an armed procession of people forced from the government of Baden a promise to allow freedom of the press, trial by jury, arming of the people, and the effort to establish a German parliament. In several other small states the same demands were made upon the rulers, and were granted. This meant, in most instances, that the leader of the party

in opposition to the government was chosen to form a ministry.

But this was not sufficient to satisfy the democratic leaders. At the meeting held at Heidelberg in March, 1848, it was determined that a preliminary parliament should be summoned at Frankfort, which should make plans for the election of a general parliament for Germany. The preliminary parliament decided that an assembly should be chosen by universal suffrage to make a constitution for Germany, monarchic in character. The extreme radicals, not satisfied with this, withdrew and stirred up agitation for a republic. The Diet of the German Confederation, which had continued in Frankfort since it was established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, made some feeble efforts to perpetuate itself, but the election for a national assembly so stirred the enthusiasm of the people in all the states that all efforts of the Diet were ignored.

Democratic assembly.

The National Assembly met, and, after much discussion of popular rights and plans for German unity, elected Archduke John of Austria to be administrator of Germany. In this enthusiasm for national unity and constitutional government, the leaders lost sight of the fact that the ruling princes of the German states would surely oppose this popular movement. Certainly, if Austria and Prussia should oppose, no commands from the Frankfort parliament would be obeyed. Indeed, honest and patriotic as were the members of the National Assembly, most of their acts were really absurd. The

authority in the various states was in the hands of kings and princes, and they were not likely to give way to a theoretical statement of popular rights.

After about a year of existence, in which the National Assembly had already submitted to humiliation in having its commands ignored, it exhibited the height of impotence in decreeing that Germany should be organized as an empire, and electing the king of Prussia to be emperor of the Germans. Frederick William IV could not afford to accept this doubtful honor, and he knew that Austria and several other states were directly opposed to it. After his refusal, the Frankfort parliament, which already had been discredited, rapidly lost what influence it still retained. The authorities in various states withdrew their delegates; the few that remained removed to Stuttgart, where they were dispersed by force in 1849. The Diet was reëstablished in 1851, and those who desired a federal constitution were forced to wait until a great war should bring it about.

Failure of the assembly.

The Prussian Constitution. — The giving of a constitution by Frederick William IV, in 1850, did not establish representative government upon a liberal plan, yet the form of the old system was gone forever. The Prussian parliament came to be known by the name of "Landtag," although at first the members of the lower house objected to it.

But the promulgation of a constitution and the establishment of the parliament did not secure a really repre-

sentative system, for the nobility regained the influence they had had before 1848, and the king's personal government became almost as noticeable as that of Napoleon III in France, at the same period.

Frederick William IV maintained himself thus until, in 1858, he so lost his mental power that his brother William became regent.

Bismarck. — In the Prussian Landtag of 1847 there was a delegate destined to a more important part in German affairs for the remainder of the nineteenth century than any one who was not a king. Bismarck attracted some attention in this body as an ultra-royalist, and in 1851, when the Diet of the German Confederation resumed its sittings in Frankfort, he there represented Prussia as ambassador. In 1859, he became ambassador to Russia, and, for a short time in 1862, ambassador to France.

Bismarck in 1847, at the age of 32.

He became Minister-President of Prussia in 1862, and Chancellor of the German Empire in 1871. Resigned chancellorship in 1890. Died 1899.

In the autumn of 1862 he became president of the Cabinet of King William I, and from that time until 1890 was the chief figure in Prussian and German politics.

Reorganization of the Prussian Army. — When Frederick William IV died in 1861, his brother, who had been regent for about three years, became King William I. Born in 1797, he had been with the allies in Paris in 1815, and during his life as prince and king and emperor he saw all the marvelous changes in European governments from the time of Napoleon I to nearly the end of the nineteenth century. The most important work for which he was personally responsible was the reform in the Prussian military system. As soon as he became king he began to develop the system which has since served as a model for most of the European armies.

The Prince Regent in 1860.

In 1861 he became King William of Prussia, and in 1871 Emperor of Germany. Died 1888.

The main features of this system are the service of all men for a certain fixed period in the active army, in the reserve, and later in the *Landwehr*. William was supported by Bismarck in his army plans, but they had much difficulty for a few years in obtaining the necessary appropriations from the Landtag to carry out their plans. Bismarck expressed his opinion before a committee that Germany would gain more from Prussian military power than from "liberalism." It was then that he uttered the sentence which has become famous: "German unity will be brought about not by speeches and votes, but by *blood and iron*."

The Schleswig-Holstein Question. — The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had for several centuries been attached to the monarchy of Denmark. In the middle of the nineteenth century it became likely that a separation must occur, because the heir to the throne of Denmark was childless, and while the kingdom of Denmark might descend through the female line, the Salic law had always been recognized in the two duchies. In order to guard against the loss of Schleswig and Holstein from his monarchy, King Christian VIII issued a document through which he applied the Danish rule of inheritance to the whole of his territory. The inhabitants of the two duchies were largely Germans and had been anticipating separation from Denmark, hoping to come under the rule of the Duke of Augustenberg, who was the heir in the male line. In 1848, Frederick VII, the son of Christian VIII, in the endeavor to pacify the two

duchies and attach them to Danish interest, issued a liberal constitution. This was exactly at the time of the popular parliament at Frankfort, and the German subjects of the Danish king demanded independence and admission to the German Confederation. War ensued between Denmark on one side and the German Confederation and Prussia individually on the other.

War in Denmark.

A conference of the great powers in London finally attempted to adjust the difficulty by issuing what was known as the London Protocol, in 1852, which decreed that Christian of Glücksburg should inherit the monarchy, including the two duchies. Neither the German Diet nor the duchies accepted this, but quietly waited until the death of the Danish king should again open the question. Just before his death in November, 1863, Frederick VII proposed a constitution which included both duchies. Before this was adopted he died, and the mob of Copenhagen compelled Christian to accede to it on the day of his accession. Christian was between two fires. If he refused the demand of the mob he might suffer immediately at their hands; by acceding to it, he was likely to bring on war with the German states in behalf of the duchies. He chose the more distant danger.

Christian king of Denmark.

This whole Schleswig-Holstein question, of comparatively small importance in itself, became prominent because of the conflict brought about over it in Germany. William I came to the throne of Prussia in 1861. The

next year Bismarck was appointed his prime minister. Neither William I nor Bismarck was content to let Prussia remain in the German Confederation as secondary in importance to Austria. The Schleswig-Holstein question opened a way out of the difficulty. Prussia desired to annex the two duchies to herself. The German Confederation, influenced by Austria, opposed this increase of Prussian territory, but was willing to go to war with Denmark to separate them from that state. So an alliance was formed between Austria and Prussia to maintain German interests in the two duchies. They engaged in war with Denmark, and were victorious. The two duchies were now the property of the allies, Prussia and Austria.

King William in his coronation robes at the Castle of Königsberg, on October 18, 1861.

Another war with Denmark.

Bismarck, in forming the alliance with Austria, had the double purpose of adding territory to Prussia and of encouraging Austria to act independently of the Diet of the Confederation and thus lead to the breaking up of the confederation itself. When this should occur, an organization might perhaps be effected so that Prussia should no longer be in a position subordinate to Austria. In the end Bismarck's plans were completely successful. As soon as the two duchies were the joint property of Austria and Prussia, difficulties began to arise between them about their administration. Each party issued orders to its representatives in the duchies, which were irritating to the other. In endeavoring to put an end to these troubles in 1865, by the Convention of Gastein, Schleswig became the property of Prussia and Holstein of Austria. Instead of settling the difficulty, this merely increased it.

War between Prussia and Austria.

In the early part of 1866, it became evident that only war could settle the quarrel between Austria and Prussia. Austria carried the quarrel to the Diet of Frankfort; Prussia claimed that this was a breach of the Convention of Gastein, and invaded Holstein. At Austria's solicitation the troops of the German Confederation were ordered to compel Prussia to submit. Prussia now withdrew from the confederation and undertook by arms to defend her own interests. Most of the small states of Germany, believing that Austria would be triumphant, attached themselves to her cause. Prussia had already

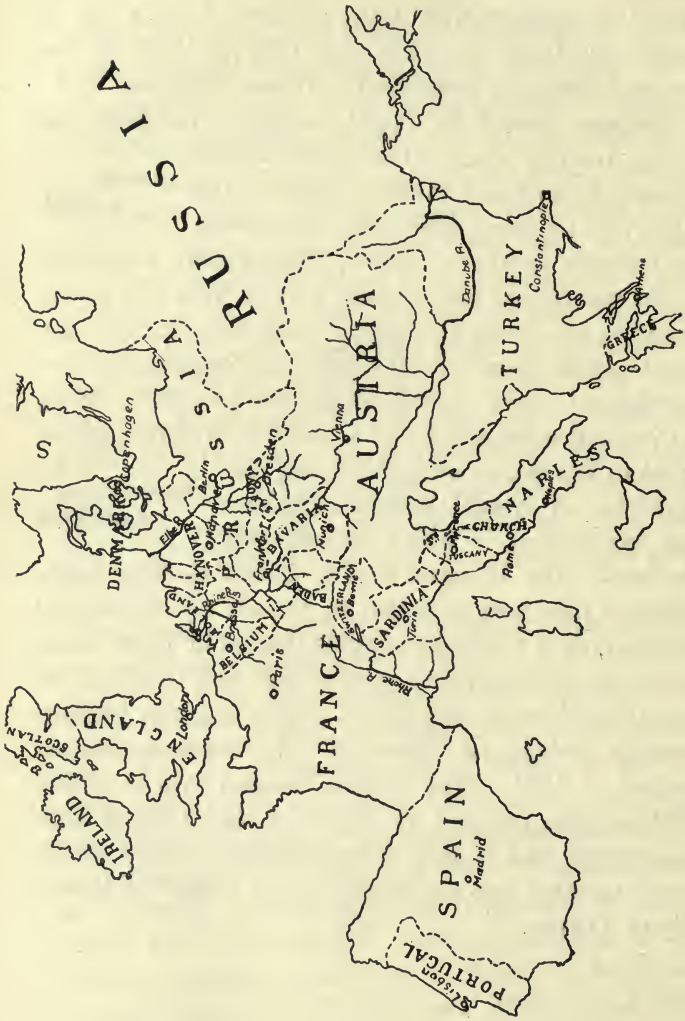
formed an alliance with Italy, whereby Austria was to be attacked from the south, and Italy to have for her reward Venetia, to complete the Italian kingdom.

Austria defeated.

The war opened by Prussia invading Hanover, one of the Austrian allies. The actual conflict between Prussia and Austria began in the latter part of June, 1866, and ended with the Prussian victory at Sadowa (Königgrätz) on July 3.

The war (called the "Seven Weeks' War") was concluded by the treaty of Prague, which dissolved the German Confederation and anticipated the organization of a Germany of which Austria should not be a part. Four of the small states which had adhered to Austria were annexed to Prussia, as were Schleswig and Holstein. A North German confederation was formed, in which Prussia took the lead. The interests of the South German states had for a time been attached to Prussia by commercial treaties, and it was quite possible that all of them would ultimately have become a part of the new German confederation if more important events had not brought about a welding of them all into the new German Empire in 1871. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 was the cause of the union of the states of Germany which had so long been disunited or only loosely bound together into the strong empire under the leadership of Prussia.

North German confederation.



Europe in 1860.
To show Central Europe before the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, and Italy before becoming united.
Compare with map on page 336.

SECTION IV.

Italy, 1848-1867.

Reforms of Pius IX. — In the first period of revolution in the nineteenth century, Italy both north and south had been concerned. In the second, in 1831, it was the Papal States, Modena and Parma, which rose against despotism. In the third revolutionary wave, we again find the movement taking its rise in the States of the Church. Strangely enough it is the pope himself who inaugurates the measures that bring on this third period of revolution in Italy. Pius IX began his reign in 1846 by reforms which astonished the world and which brought down upon himself the maledictions of most of the sovereigns of Italy. He issued a general pardon to all who were suffering penalties for political offences, lessened the restrictions on the press, appointed laymen to several offices that had heretofore been always occupied by clergymen, gave a liberal constitution to the city of Rome, and even proposed an assembly to consider reforms for the whole of the Papal States.

Reforms cause trouble.

Although the other monarchs of Italy were astonished at the pope's program, his plans progressed favorably until the French Revolution of 1848 set on foot similar movements in many European states. The pope now granted a constitution. The most extreme liberals in the pope's territories took advantage of his concessions to demand

from him active participation in the war against Austria, which was being waged by King Charles Albert of Piedmont. Upon his refusal, the head of his ministry was assassinated, and the radicals obtained possession of the offices in the city of Rome. Prominent among these radical leaders were Mazzini, the well-known republican, and the Prince of Canino, a son of Lucien Bonaparte. The pope could not long submit to the violence of such men, and accordingly abandoned Rome.

After the departure of the pope, the radicals declared Rome a republic and the temporal power of the pope abolished. The pope now called upon the Catholic powers of the world for assistance, but the only favorable response he received was from Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the president of the French Republic. This president of a republic, anxious to gain the favor of the clerical party in France, sent troops to overthrow the republic in Rome and reëstablish the temporal, monarchical power of the pope. Most of the time for twenty years,—until the Franco-Prussian War in 1870,—the temporal sovereignty of the pope was maintained by a French garrison. So little success had followed the pope's liberal plans that nothing further was heard of political reform in Rome.

France assists the pope.

Revolution in Northern Italy. — While it was in the States of the Church that the liberal movement began at this period, it was in the north of Italy that the most important events occurred. In Lombardy, which be-

longed to Austria, there was a strong desire to inaugurate liberal government, and after the reforms in the Papal States there was a revival of the idea of Italian unity. Vienna, the capital of Austria, was itself in revolt in the spring of 1848, so the time seemed opportune for the Austrian provinces in Italy. Many of the subjects of the pope and of the Duke of Tuscany united with the people of Lombardy, and Charles Albert, King of Piedmont, now adopting the constitutional idea more honestly than in 1821, became the leader of the movement in all North Italy to drive out the power of Austria.

The people of Milan and Venice succeeded in expelling the Austrian garrisons. The dukes of Modena and Parma fled, and for a time it seemed as though the people of all the north part of Italy would succeed in their object of national unity. Much, however, as the people desired this end, the armies that collected to accomplish it were not sufficiently large or well trained. Charles Albert himself was not a competent commander for such an enterprise, and was soon defeated by the experienced generals of Austria. Compelled to make an armistice in August, 1848, Charles Albert, under pressure from the radicals, again began the war in March, 1849, but within a few days was decisively defeated at the battle of Novara, and, feeling that it was impossible for him to make a favorable peace with Austria, he abdicted in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel.

Austria victorious.

Venice, which had joined its forces with Charles Al-

bert for the purpose of establishing a kingdom of North Italy, was left alone to suffer the horrors of siege, of hunger, and of disease, and was forced to fall back again into the arms of Austria, in August, 1849.

Trouble in Naples and Sicily. — While these events were occurring, the radicals in the kingdom of Naples were making similar demands upon their king. They even forced King Ferdinand to send a body of troops to assist Charles Albert, but they soon made so much disturbance in Naples that the troops were recalled to put down a democratic uprising. The Sicilians also revolted against the king of Naples with the same popular demands for constitutional government, but were subdued with the greatest violence. The revolutionary period of 1848 and 1849 had stirred the ambition of all Italy, but ended, as did the earlier movements, in the triumphs of despots and the reëstablishment of Austrian influence in the larger part of the peninsula. The Italians had, however, in this third attempt become thoroughly aware that there would be no hope for Italian liberty or constitutional government until Austrian authority should be entirely removed.

Making Italy a Nation. — There was one small state, however, which, although defeated, still adhered to the liberal program. Piedmont, under the new king, Victor Emmanuel II, began a thoroughly progressive policy, which ended ten years later in creating the kingdom of Italy.

The new king, Victor Emmanuel II, began his reign

under the greatest of difficulties. His armies had been defeated; the war indemnity to be paid was large, but he heroically undertook to carry out the promise made by his father to govern in a constitutional manner. As soon as peace was made, the internal organization of the kingdom of Piedmont was carried forward with the greatest energy. While all the ministers of the king labored faithfully toward the desired end, the one man who is especially distinguished for his services during the decade 1850–1860 is Cavour. He became prime minister in 1852. He and the king were in complete harmony as to what was necessary to build up a modern state. Industries of all kinds were encouraged; commerce created by government assistance to shipping; railroads and canals constructed; and liberal measures in government made to keep pace with material prosperity. Cavour's proposition to construct a tunnel through Mont Cenis astonished even his friends, yet its later completion has shown that, instead of being the project of a mad-man, it was one of the wisest of plans.

Cavour.

Mont Cenis tunnel.

When the Crimean War broke out between Russia, on one side, and France and England on the other, Cavour offered the assistance of Piedmont's troops to the Western allies. This was not so much for the material assistance that he could render the Western allies as to gain friends for future movements in behalf of Italy. When peace was made in 1856 at the Congress

of Paris, Cavour outlined his plan before the plenipotentiaries of the various nations. He called attention to the great injustice in the Italian situation, and all but Austria seemed to listen with approval.

In 1859 a definite treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Piedmont, which guaranteed the support of France in the formation of a North Italian kingdom whenever war with Austria should again become necessary. The progress of the little kingdom had been looked upon with jealous eyes by Austria and with longing by the Italian subjects of Austria. The army of Piedmont was well organized and drilled. Anticipating that this army was to be used against her, Austria issued an ultimatum to Piedmont, which said that, unless the army should disband within three days, hostilities would begin. This was exactly the opportunity that the king and Cavour desired. Of course they refused to comply with the demand, and hostilities began. A French army under Napoleon III came to the assistance of Piedmont. After the two victories of Magenta and Solferino, Napoleon III made peace with the emperor of Austria, much to the disgust of Victor Emmanuel and his prime minister.

Alliance with France.

The plan in the beginning of the war had been to drive Austria completely out of Italy, but so far only Lombardy had been gained. The general enthusiasm exhibited in all the states of Northern Italy for this war showed Napoleon that much more was likely to be ac-

complished than he had anticipated. Fearing, perhaps, that too strong a kingdom of Italy would be prejudicial to his own influence, and that, while marching eastward and going farther away from his own source of supplies, he was driving the Austrians nearer to theirs, he deemed it wise to make peace while he was still victorious.

Austria defeated.

The terms of peace of Villafranca contemplated a federal union of the Italian states under the honorary presidency of the pope, but this was not to the liking of the people, nor, indeed, did it seem feasible. The people of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma formed provisional governments and applied for admission to the new kingdom of Italy. Defeated Austria could not prevent this movement, and, although it was going further than Napoleon had planned, he could hardly oppose a movement that he himself had set on foot.

The Kingdom of Italy begins. — In February, 1861, the first Italian parliament was opened in Turin, and it at once consented to Victor Emmanuel's adoption of the title of "King of Italy." In this kingdom were comprised Piedmont, Lombardy, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and some of the papal territory.

The patriot Garibaldi, who had greatly assisted the Italian movement against Austria, declared that he would not be satisfied until all the peninsula, including Venetia, Rome, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies should be united into one state. It was impossible for

Italy previous to the War of 1859.

this program to be carried out at this time, however; but Garibaldi, without any authority, and indeed forbidden to undertake the enterprise, seized two ships in the harbor of Genoa, loaded them with volunteers, and sailed away to Sicily. Between May and September, 1860, he became master of Sicily and Naples. The people generally had risen to his support against their despotic king.

Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition.

Garibaldi was received in Naples with the greatest evidences of joy on the part of the people, where he ruled for a short time as dictator. Having accomplished the work which would not have been wise for Victor Emmanuel to have undertaken, he turned over the results of his expedition to him, and all Italy, with the exception of the Papal States and Venetia, was united under Victor Emmanuel's banner. Garibaldi, still unsatisfied, was determined on adding Rome to the kingdom, but his efforts would doubtless have involved the new kingdom in war had Victor Emmanuel favored it. So, although he collected volunteers and began an invasion, with the watchword, "Rome or death!" Italian troops were compelled to oppose him. A battle was fought in 1862 in which Garibaldi himself was wounded and his troops defeated. Rome was destined to be added to the kingdom of Italy by events outside of the peninsula itself.

Difficulties in the Roman Question. — The republican party, under the leadership of Mazzini and Garibaldi,

and also the new Kingdom of Italy, desired to deprive the pope of his temporal dominions. Of course the pope himself and his officers of government had objected seriously to the annexation of those of the Papal States that had joined the Italian kingdom in 1860, and accordingly the "rebellious subjects" and King Victor Emmanuel were excommunicated.

Napoleon III, who had assisted in the formation of the New Italy, favored a sort of compromise by approving the annexation of some of the States of the Church, and, on the other hand, prevented Victor Emmanuel from taking possession of Rome by maintaining there a French garrison.

As a result of an agreement between France and Italy, the French troops were withdrawn in 1866, and Italy undertook the defence of the pope and Rome. No sooner were the French out of the way than Garibaldi organized a new expedition to take Rome. There is little doubt that Victor Emmanuel's prime minister, Rattazzi, favored the plan, but the French returned, and, together with the papal guards, fought a battle which nearly annihilated the troops of Garibaldi. The pope then was supported by French soldiers until the summer of 1870.

Italy acquires Venice. — Occurrences outside of the peninsula completed the territory of the New Italy. Prussia and Austria were at war in 1866 over the Schleswig-Holstein question, and Prussia sought an ally in Italy with the promise that victory over Austria

would insure to Italy the possession of Venetia. Austria, fearful of this result, transferred Venetia to Napoleon III, who was to hand it over to Italy, and thus detach Italy from the Prussian alliance. Italy, being certain of Venetia however the war should result, gave very little assistance to the Prussian cause. Nevertheless, as a consequence of the complications, the kingdom of Italy was increased on the northeast by the addition of Venetia in 1866.

Difficulties of the Government. — The new government had by no means an easy task in its first few years of existence. There was much difficulty in arranging a working system of administration. There were friends of some of the deposed rulers who were only too anxious to cause disturbance. In the former kingdom of Naples brigands claiming to be acting in the interests of the former king of Naples terrorized travelers and inhabitants. Much trouble arose also in the adjustment of taxes and other financial matters. A new nation, composed of many petty states, each of which had its own peculiar system of political and financial administration, needed time to bring harmony out of chaos.

Section V.

Great Britain before the Second Reform Bill.

Applications of Steam. — The Reform Bill of 1832 prepared the way for great changes in the political life of the English people, both immediately and later, and was indirectly the cause of many reforms other than political. But the industrial, commercial, and social life of the last two thirds of the nineteenth century was quite as much affected by the applications of steam power.

Shortly after Fulton constructed a successful steamboat in America, Henry Bell accomplished the feat of sending the *Comet*,* a twenty-four ton boat, down the Clyde at a rate of seven miles an hour with a three horse-power engine. This performance was regarded as a mere curiosity, and people little thought it to be the beginning of an era of commerce that should depend almost entirely upon steam. In 1814 there were only two small steamers in all Great Britain; by 1834 the number had increased to four hundred and sixty-two, and in 1844 to nearly a thousand.

Steamboats.

Although the use of steam for propelling ships antedated its use for locomotion on land, the development of railways after they had once proven their practicability and utility was much more rapid, even though it was not an easy matter to get government assistance for the construction of locomotives. In 1829 the Duke of

* In 1812.

Wellington would not believe that locomotives would ever be very extensively used, for he said that "these drag engines could only draw a load one twentieth of their own weight, therefore it would require an engine of forty tons to draw a load of two tons."

Railways.

The history of railways since the first successful locomotive of Stephenson is very well known. Their effect on the social and commercial life can scarcely be estimated.

Education. — During the period we are at present considering, little attention was paid to general education. It was not until 1870 that a bill was passed by Parliament which prepared for thorough educational reform. For several centuries there had been opportunities for the wealthy to obtain schooling, but the children of laborers generally went almost without instruction. A parliamentary committee, in 1818, found that about five hundred and seventy thousand children attended schools of some kind, while two million were left entirely without instruction. In one county less than ten thousand out of thirty thousand children received instruction of any kind. In 1833 a motion was made in Parliament to devise in the following session some means for educating all the people, but the motion was withdrawn, and the ministry provided twenty thousand pounds a year, chiefly for the building of schoolhouses. The richest country in Europe thus devoted as much to education for the whole nation as would scarcely suffice for one of its smaller cities.

The friends of education continually agitated the matter, and in 1839 succeeded in getting thirty thousand pounds appropriated and a committee appointed which should receive subscriptions and distribute funds. Lord Brougham pointed out that in the same year that thirty thousand pounds were appropriated for education of the children of the kingdom, seventy thousand pounds were spent for stables for the queen.

Small appropriations.

Chartism. — From the last years of the eighteenth century an organization had existed which had for its program, "Manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, the abolition of the property qualifications for members of Parliament, and paid representatives in the House of Commons." Agitation and disturbance caused by advocates of these demands have been referred to in a previous chapter. The movement, whose strength increased in bad times and diminished when work was plenty and wages good, continued till the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. This bill did not concede any of the demands of the radicals, yet the people generally were so well pleased with the broad reform accomplished by it that there was little encouragement to agitators until 1837. Then decrease in wages and rise in the prices of food caused renewed energy on the part of the leaders. They claimed that political reforms would be a remedy for social difficulties. A document, embodying the five points already named, was drawn up, and called the "People's Charter." Those

who believed in the program thus named were known as Chartists. They held a national convention in London and prepared a monster petition to the House of Commons. The only attention it drew from the House was a large majority vote that the petition should not be considered. This was in 1839.

Petition fails in 1839.

Considerable riot in the city and disturbances in the country followed the rejection of the petition. While the government had not prohibited the large meetings of Chartists before this, it could not permit such excesses, and accordingly brought to trial and punishment several of the leaders. Chartists then became either less numerous or more quiet until 1842. Again the Chartist leaders appeared and told the poor people that they were poor because they were not represented in Parliament, and urged them to new efforts for political enfranchisement. Another petition was prepared which was claimed to contain over three million signatures, but it received no more consideration than the petition of 1839.

Petition fails in 1842.

The wave of revolution which swept over the Continent in 1848 touched Great Britain. There was a rebellious movement in Ireland, probably because there was trouble in England at the same time, and the men of extreme opinions in England were aroused to new effort through influence of Continental disturbances. Many of those concerned in earlier Chartist move-

ments, together with recruits from those in distress from another commercial crisis, determined upon further action.

This time they would escort their petition to the House of Commons with a monster procession. Advertisements were posted calling upon the people to join in a body of five hundred thousand, to carry to Parliament a petition bearing five million names. The ministry declared illegal a meeting of an excessive number of persons for such a purpose, and stationed troops to prevent it. The petition, instead of being carried to Parliament by an impulsive and enthusiastic crowd, was ignominiously bundled into a cab. A special committee examined it and found less than two million names attached, and many of these were absurd fictitious names, such as "Pug Nose," "No Cheese," etc., besides the forged names of Queen Victoria, Duke of Wellington, and others. The House of Commons thus felt warranted in disregarding the requests of a great number because of the ridiculous acts of a few. The cause of reform was arrested for years by the foolish deeds of some of the reformers themselves.

Petition fails again.

More Factory Legislation. — Considerable attention was given in Parliament between 1840 and 1845 to relief measures for the destitute poor and the laboring poor in mines and factories. The report of the commission in 1833 had resulted in shortening somewhat the hours of labor of children in factories, but that had

by no means alleviated the worst of the wrongs. The same member of the House of Commons, Lord Ashley, who had introduced the Factory Bill of 1833, moved in 1840 that a committee be appointed to inquire into the employment of women and children in the mines. The report of the committee revealed such terrible conditions that no civilized country could have refused to pass measures of alleviation. Children of four, five, and six years of age, both girls and boys, were found to be working underground in damp, ill-ventilated passages. Many of the passages through which the small coal-laden cars were pushed were twenty-two to twenty-eight inches high, hence only the smallest children were there employed. Women, and children as young as seven years old, worked twelve hours a day, harnessed to the cars like beasts, with girdle and chain. These facts so startled the House of Commons that the Factory Bill of 1843 was passed, greatly reducing the hours for women and children; and other bills, in 1844, 1846, and 1847, provided for still further shortening of hours, and for education of children under thirteen years of age.

Abuses of children.

Marriage of Queen. — It was a matter of great interest and importance to all Great Britain that Queen Victoria should choose as her husband a man whose character and abilities would adorn his exalted station and assist her in her public and private duties. Albert, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, became prince consort in 1840. He at once very happily adjusted himself to his

difficult position, and soon won the affection and admiration of the people. For twenty-one years he continued to be a wise counselor as well as an affectionate husband to the queen, and a diligent and non-partisan worker for the public good. His death in 1861 was profoundly mourned by the people, and for the forty remaining years of Queen Victoria's reign she did not recover from her loneliness. Through their children and grandchildren Prince Albert and Queen Victoria have been closely related to most of the thrones in Europe.

Corn Laws and Free Trade. — The corn laws in England were laws establishing protection for agriculture. Many laws were enacted at different times, all intended to keep the price of grain high enough to make a profit for the farmer. Sometimes foreign grain was not allowed to be imported. Again, home-grown grain was forbidden to be exported, and still again a bounty was offered for the export of grain at certain prices, or foreign grain was admitted when grain rose to a certain price. The details of these laws and changes were fruitful of discussion in and out of Parliament for many years. Singularly enough, some men thought that the price could be maintained at a certain figure if the government should prohibit the importing of foreign wheat when wheat in England fell below that figure. Of course with a profitable price more people would raise wheat, and the supply would thus become so much greater that prices would decline. New laws were made from time to time, all intended to suit the emergencies.

In 1836 a few persons formed an association to advocate the repeal of the Corn Laws. Richard Cobden soon became the most important man in the association and was the organizer for the Anti-Corn Law League. John Bright, a somewhat younger man than Cobden, and a friend of his, became one of the league's orators. Cobden and Bright served the league as agitators among the people while friends of the movement were increasing in number in the House of Commons.

Cobden and Bright.

At the opening of Parliament in 1842 the queen in her speech showed plainly that public sentiment had been greatly influenced by Anti-Corn Law agitation. One of the matters for the consideration of Parliament, she urged, was "the laws which affect the importation of corn." Peel was prime minister, and he proposed a plan called the "Sliding Scale," which was adopted. This modified arrangement provided that when British wheat sold at fifty-one shillings a quarter, foreign wheat might be imported by paying a duty of twenty shillings a quarter. As British wheat should rise in price up to seventy-three shillings, the duty gradually would fall to one shilling. This measure satisfied neither the friends of Protection nor of Free Trade. A bad harvest in 1845 and the failure of the potato crop in Ireland in the same year forced decided action in Parliament. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 resulted in cheapening and steadying the price of food, and, consequently, greatly benefited the laboring people.

Corn laws repealed.

The First World's Fair. — The English Society of Arts, as early as 1761, held a national exhibition and gave prizes for agricultural and other machines. National exhibitions were held in several of the Continental countries and in England between 1798 (in Paris) and 1849 (in Birmingham), but no international exhibition was ever planned until a royal commission in England was appointed to arrange for a world's industrial exhibition to be held in 1851. The appointment of the commission had followed a suggestion of the prince consort when president of the Society of Arts. The prince acted as president of the exhibition, and it was largely owing to his energy and unwearied activity that the first world's fair owed its success. At the suggestion of Joseph Paxton (afterward Sir Joseph Paxton), head gardener of the Duke of Devonshire, a building of iron and glass, known as the "Crystal Palace," was constructed.

The Crystal Palace.

Although wars have not ceased and world's peace become established, as many anticipated would be the effect of this meeting of the nations, the idea of international association and competition has greatly advanced civilization, and may lead later to all that was at first hoped. Since the exhibition of 1851, international fairs have been held in England (1862), France (1855, 1867, 1878, 1889, 1900), Austria (1873), and the United States (1876, 1884, 1893).

Crimean War. — A war in which no less than five governments took part, each for a different reason, was

that from 1854 to 1856. It took its name from the peninsula in the Black Sea where the chief military operations were conducted. The country which obtained the most valuable results was the one which had the least interest in the cause of conflict. England, France, and Piedmont joined to assist Turkey in fighting Russia. The real cause, so far as England was concerned, was the determination not to permit Russia to destroy the independence of Turkey. Nominally the war began because Russia and France respectively decided to champion the cause of the Greek and Latin Christians in the holy places, which were in the territory of the Turkish Empire. The interest of Napoleon III was doubtless fully as great in obtaining an alliance with England, in order to make certain of a successful war, as to support Turkey. Piedmont plainly had no interest other than to gain the friendship of the Western powers before the inevitable final struggle against Austria for a united Italy. Her purpose was fully accomplished, and within a few years the states of Italy were united to form a nation.

Interests of each participant.

Nicholas, Czar of Russia, had calculated upon the weakness of the Turkish government, and had for some time assumed that it was approaching dissolution. In his conferences with the English ambassador at St. Petersburg, he had called Turkey a "sick man," and suggested that England and Russia should be his heirs. His idea was that Russia should assume a protectorate over territory belonging to Turkey where the inhabitants

were of the Greek faith, while England might take Egypt and Crete. The English government was not so certain of the "sickness" of Turkey, and saw in a Russian protectorate only the rapid expansion of Russia toward the Mediterranean.

Eastern question.

Then Nicholas made use of the petty quarrel of priests and pilgrims over the holy places to demand a religious protectorate over the Greek Christians. Turkey sent a cry for help to the Western powers. The English cabinet did not wish to see Turkey overthrown, and Napoleon III, probably remembering the disasters of Napoleon I in the Moscow campaign, hoped to humiliate Russia and add military prestige to his new empire.

French and English, with a small Piedmontese army, went to crush Russian ambitions in the Crimean Peninsula in the Black Sea. The whole campaign was a disaster to all parties, disease playing quite as important a part in reducing the armies on both sides as actual battle. "The Charge of the Light Brigade," made immortal by Tennyson, occurred in the battle of Balaklava. The fortress of Sebastopol was captured from the Russians after a siege of eleven months, enormously costly in the lives of men, and this ended the war.

The Peace of Paris, in 1856, not only made an official end to the war, but showed the uselessness of it by restoring to Russia and Turkey practically all that either had lost. Other questions discussed at this congress in Paris were of greater importance than the war itself. Nothing had been

Peace of Paris.

settled by the war, and the "Eastern Question" then discussed by clash of arms has not yet been brought to a solution.

Indian Mutiny. — The Crimean War was no sooner ended than Great Britain was disturbed by serious trouble in her East Indian possessions. India was under military rule, and the army was composed of British soldiers, few in number compared with the much larger proportion of natives. Many things led to the discontented and rebellious feeling of the natives: the over-zealous energy of the governor-general in extending the area of British rule, the introduction of railways and telegraphs, and other improvements which were resented as innovations. The immediate cause of the mutiny in the army was the issuing to the soldiers of rifles in place of the old smooth-bore guns. The rumor was started that the grease on the cartridges for the new weapons was a mixture of lard and tallow, and thus Mohammedans and Hindoos were offended, for the Hindoos reverence the cow and the Mohammedans despise the hog.

Important results.

The details of the mutiny which followed scarcely belong to European history, yet the result was one of importance to Great Britain. The East India Company had been in control of the affairs of India, and it was the company which put down the rebellion; but public sentiment now demanded that Indian affairs should be directly in the hands of the government. An act of Parliament in 1858 pro-

vided for the appointment of a governor-general in India, and for a secretary of state for India to be a regular member of the cabinet — the latter to be responsible to Parliament for the management of affairs in India.

Gladstone and Disraeli. — The parliamentary careers of William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli fairly well represent the political thought of the English people. After 1868 each held office as prime minister, Disraeli two times and Gladstone four times; but from 1852 onward, till the death of Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) in 1881, they were on opposite sides of all questions. There was a continuous parliamentary duel between them. Strangely enough Disraeli began his career as a Whig and Gladstone as a Tory, while each ended as leader of the opposite party. Mr. Gladstone's gradual change of opinions illustrates very well the growth of democracy in Great Britain in the period between the reform bills of 1832 and 1867, so that ultimately he came to be the recognized leader of the most advanced Liberals.

The changes of social and political life consequent upon the multiplied applications of steam and electricity and improved postal facilities, the increased number of newspapers, and the broadening ideas of education resulted in liberalizing the views of all parties, so that by 1867 those who had been known as Tories in 1832 had advanced to the opinions held formerly by the Whigs, and the Whigs had been growing toward a democracy which, in 1832,

Both parties more liberal.

they would have viewed with alarm. The names Conservative and Liberal have taken the place of Tory and Whig, and represent far better the actual views of the parties for the past forty years.

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A FEW PEOPLE OF IMPORTANCE

Other than Political, during the Period between 1815 and 1870.

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787–1874), was the first to occupy the chair of history at the Sorbonne in Paris. His writings, chiefly upon historical subjects, are numerous. From 1830 to 1848 he was prominent in politics, but after the fall of Louis Philippe he lived in retirement.

Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797–1877), was equally distinguished as historian and statesman. His histories of the "French Revolution" and of the "Consulate and Empire" are large and important works. As editor of a liberal newspaper he contributed largely to the downfall of Charles X. His part in the Third Republic is given in Chapter V of this volume.

Balzac, Honoré de (1799–1850), is considered greatest of the realistic school of French novelists. He wrote a dozen novels merely for practice. Some of these he disowned, others are included in the complete editions of his works. He attempted to publish periodical journals and failed. Other business enterprises did not succeed, but he established his greatness by his long list of successful novels.

Cousin, Victor (1792–1867), was minister of public instruction during the reign of Louis Philippe, but is chiefly noted as a philosopher. He was lecturer at the Sorbonne, but was dismissed for political reasons in 1820. His various philosophical works appeared after 1826.

Comte, Isidore Auguste Marie François Xavier (1798–1857), founder of what is known as the Positive School of Philosophy.

Although he is known chiefly for his philosophical writings, he was a teacher at the École Polytechnique in Paris from 1832 to 1851.

Saint-Simon, Comte Claude Henri de (1760–1825), a French philosopher, who is regarded as the founder of socialism. He served as a volunteer in the American Revolution and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis. Although a noble, he favored the Revolution in France. His importance is perhaps better shown in the number and ability of his disciples than in any positive acts of his own.

Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772–1837), was first a merchant, then a soldier; but his fame arises from a peculiar social system devised by him and known as "Fourierism." Its chief characteristic is the formation of associations or phalansteries which should include about eighteen hundred persons all dwelling in one edifice and employing themselves in all trades and professions. Fourieristic communities have been tried in France and America, and failed after short careers.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo (1791–1864), was born in Berlin, but most of his life was spent in Paris, and his work was largely in the composition of French opera. "Robert le Diable," "Les Huguenots," "Le Prophète," "L'Africaine," are among his works.

Daguerre, Louis Jacques Mandé (1789–1851), was a French painter, who, in collaboration with Niepce, discovered the process of taking permanent pictures by sunlight. The great development of photography has resulted from this invention.

Byron, Lord George Noel Gordon (1788–1824), probably owes his chief fame to his literary work, yet the circumstances of his death attach him to political history. In 1823 he joined the Greek army, which was fighting for independence from Turkey.

Through his influence large sums of money were raised for the Greek cause. While in command at Missolonghi, he died.

Arnold, Thomas (1795–1842), author of a "History of Rome" and other valuable works, is best known for his connection with the Rugby School in England. His administration of that institution formed an epoch in modern education.

Dickens, Charles (1812–1870), owes his fame as a novelist to his minute study and graphic descriptions of common people. In the wonderful development of English literature in the nineteenth century, Dickens deserves a foremost place.

Mill, John Stuart (1806–1873), produced works on political economy, logic, and other philosophical subjects which have greatly influenced other workers in these lines. His autobiography, published in 1873, shows him to have been a remarkably precocious child. He published an important work at the age of nineteen. He was connected with the *London Review* and the *Westminster Review.* As writer, and member of Parliament, he takes high rank among Englishmen of the nineteenth century.

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809–1882), was born in England, but through his works as a naturalist and by his study of the theory of evolution, he is regarded as one of the world's greatest leaders in science. His publications are numerous, but those entitled "Origin of Species" and the "Descent of Man" are best known.

Faraday, Michael (1791–1867), is counted among England's greatest men of science. He was assistant to Sir Humphry Davy in the Royal Institution, and later professor of chemistry in the same institution. His greatest work was in the field of electricity and magnetism.

Ranke, Leopold von (1795–1886), was one of the most noted of the historians which Germany has produced. The extraordinary number and profound scholarship of his works places him among

the few great history writers of the world. As professor of history in the University of Berlin from 1825 to 1871, he was the inspiration of many men who have achieved eminence as historians.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770–1831), was a German philosopher. He was professor in the universities of Jena, Heidelberg, and Berlin. His system of philosophy, known as Hegelianism, undertakes to explain the whole universe of thought and being. His complete works in eighteen volumes, published between 1832 and 1844, include treatises on esthetics, philosophy of religion, and philosophy of history.

Kaulbach, Wilhelm von (1805–1874), was an historical painter. He was director of the Art Academy at Munich. Some of his works are decorations in Maximilian's palace in Munich, illustrations of Schiller's and Goethe's "Faust," but his greatest painting is the "Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus."

Wagner, Wilhelm Richard (1813–1883), is regarded as the greatest of modern musical composers. He was so much interested in poetry when a child that at thirteen years of age he translated twelve books of Homer's "Odyssey" out of school hours, and wrote, besides, several original tragedies. Later he turned to music. Although many of his compositions were meritorious and have since achieved success, he was long in receiving recognition. He was exiled from Saxony for taking part in the revolution of 1849. He spent much time in Paris, and "Tannhäuser" was performed there for a short time.

Wagner's greatest success and recognition were secured through the patronage of Ludwig II of Bavaria. The great opera festivals held annually in Baireuth, Bavaria, testify to the greatness of Wagner as a composer.

Liebig, Baron Justus von (1803–1873), belongs among the greatest chemists of the nineteenth century. He was, from 1824

to 1852, professor of chemistry at the University of Giessen, and students from all parts of the world went there to study with him. From 1852 until his death he was professor in the University of Munich. His most important researches were in the field of organic chemistry and the applications of chemistry to agriculture and food.

Cantu, Cesare (1805–1895), was an Italian historian and novelist. He wrote an historical work on Lombardy, in which he expressed liberal opinions and was therefore imprisoned. While in prison he wrote an historical romance. His greatest work is "Storia Universale," in thirty-five volumes, published in Florence between 1837 and 1842.

Gioberti, Vincenzo (1801–1852), was an Italian whose literary ability was devoted largely to political writings. He was a priest and professor of theology and court chaplain, but was dismissed and imprisoned under accusation of promoting liberalism. After the revolution of 1848 he held several political offices, even that of prime minister for a few weeks. He was better as an enthusiastic writer of political works than as a practical politician.

Canova, Antonio (1757–1822), deserves high honor as a modern Italian sculptor. His works are found in the museums of many European cities. He was, in 1802, appointed curator of all the Roman works of art in the Papal States, and was called to Paris to execute work for Napoleon. After the fall of Napoleon he was sent from Italy to superintend the return of the works of art which had been carried to Paris from the Italian museums.

Rossini, Gioachino Antonio (1792–1868), stands highest on the roll of Italian composers for the stage during the nineteenth century. He composed about forty operas, among them "Il Barbiere di Seviglia," "Otello," "Semiramide," "Guillaume Tell."

Thorwaldsen, Bertel (1770–1844), ranking among the best of modern sculptors, was a Scandinavian. The place of his birth is

uncertain, but is supposed to have been Copenhagen. He first carved wooden figureheads in the shipyard where his father worked. In 1793 he gained from the academy in Copenhagen a medal and the privilege of three years' study abroad. He spent the greater part of his life thereafter in Rome, where he gained recognition from Canova. A large number of his works were bequeathed to his native country and are preserved in a museum named for him in Copenhagen.

Agassiz, Louis (1807–1873), belongs to the world of science. He was born in Switzerland, and studied in his native country and in Germany. His studies were largely on fishes and fossils of fish, but he also published work on mollusks and geology. He visited France and England for purposes of study, and held a professorship in Neufchâtel, Switzerland, and after 1846 at Harvard University. Much of the interest in natural history study in the United States is owing to the enthusiasm of Agassiz.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LIFE.

SECTION I.

France under the Third Republic.

The Bordeaux Assembly. — A peculiarity of the Third French Republic is that it grew into permanence without definite intention on the part of many of the most important men connected with the government. It became a republic merely because it could not be anything else. There were imperialists, for the time considerably in the background, and monarchists, favoring the elder line of the Bourbons in the person of the Comte de Chambord, and the Orleans branch in the person of the Comte de Paris. With all these varying interests the Assembly which met at Bordeaux in February of 1871 could have no definite program and did not dare to proclaim a republic. It merely announced that the nation should later decide upon the form of government, and, to provide for the necessity of the moment, elected "A Head of the Executive Power." It was imperative that some one must be chosen with whom the Germans would negotiate, and it was not at all likely that the newly established German Empire would be willing

Temporary government.

Map of Paris, showing location of several of the chief points of interest in recent history.

1. Champ de Mars. 2. Arc de Triomphe. 3. Montmartre. 4. Belleville. 5. Place de la Bastille. 6. Louvre. 7. Tuileries. 8. Luxembourg. 9. Notre Dame Cathedral. 10. Palais de Justice. 11. Hôtel de Ville. 12. Palais-Royal. 13. Grand Opéra. 14. Père la Chaise Cemetery.

to open negotiations with a radical republican, even if he had been the choice of the Assembly. Thiers, a well-known Orleans monarchist who had been in public life for forty years, was chosen. He was to choose two ministers and exercise power under the guidance of the Assembly.

Thiers declared that he had no program further than to restore peace and industrial prosperity. He chose his ministers from among the moderate republicans rather than from the radicals. He at once went to Versailles* with two of his ministers, and on February 26 agreed upon terms of peace. The Bordeaux Assembly ratified the treaty on March 1st and moved to Versailles, where it began its sittings on the 20th of March. Three important pieces of business had been accomplished by this body, — the formal deposition of Napoleon III, the election of Thiers, and the making of peace.

Three items of business.

The Work of Reorganization. — The new government was sufficiently occupied through the spring of 1871 in conquering the commune in Paris, and it was not until July that the real work toward the reorganization of France could begin.

Supplementary elections showed plainly that a republic was the choice of the voters, but there was no law to limit the power of the Assembly or its term of office, hence it continued to control affairs for nearly five years, in spite of objections from some of its own members and petitions from outside for its dissolution. Perhaps this

* Headquarters of the German army at the time.

situation was the very one necessary to give stability to the new government. There was no party with a majority in the Assembly, but there were eight or nine groups or partial parties. In order to carry any measure, combination of groups was necessary. Under these conditions it is a little surprising that so much and so rapid progress was made in reorganization. Within two years, the five billion francs war indemnity had been paid to Germany, all of the government loan being taken by French citizens. The army was organized on the Prussian model, following quite closely the details.*

Progress rapid.

The title of President of the Republic was given to Thiers by the Assembly, and in the main he had the powers of a constitutional king. He was fearful that the radicals would by their agitations cause the downfall of the republic. In opposition to Gambetta, Thiers announced that the republic would be conservative or cease to exist.

Conservatism of Thiers.

Thiers entered the Assembly at pleasure and took part in the debates. This rather unusual proceeding was prohibited by the Assembly passing an act which required him to communicate his wishes in a formal message. More than once Thiers resigned or threatened to resign because the Assembly was not of his way of thinking, and for over two years he succeeded in maintaining himself because of the general fear that the republic might fall

*Universal compulsory service, division into four classes,—active, reserve, armed militia, and militia reserve.

with a change of president. In May, 1873, the Assembly, becoming tired of his petulant methods, accepted his resignation, and elected Marshal MacMahon as a representative of the monarchist and imperialist parties.

MacMahon found himself in the same position as Thiers, — obliged to maintain the republic for want of sufficient support to do anything else. Strong efforts were made to accomplish the restoration of monarchy by calling to the throne the Comte de Chambord as the last representative of the elder line of Bourbons. This perhaps might have been accomplished had there not been lack of agreement upon the flag, the count insisting upon the white flag of the Bourbons, while the people, even though partisans of monarchy, desired to retain the tricolor.

Monarchist efforts.

The scheme for reëstablishing monarchy having failed, the party favoring it endeavored to prolong its own power by extending the power of the president. Some favored a ten-years' term, others five; a compromise declared MacMahon President of the Republic for seven years.

Constitution. — Up to 1875 the new republic had existed from necessity and without a constitution. While a constitution was under discussion an amendment was offered and carried which really determined the nature of the constitution and the permanent form of the republic. It was: "The President of the Republic is elected by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies joined together in National Assembly. He is elected for seven years and is eligible for reëlection." Around these

statements the constitution was built up. There was no Senate, but one was created. Other provisions were made as necessity demanded, and four years after the actual beginning of the republic it was formally established with a constitution.

MacMahon had been president nearly two years before the constitution was adopted. When it went into effect he was called, "President of the Republic." Thus by implication the republic became the permanent form of government. But MacMahon had been elected by the "Right" or monarchist side of the Assembly, and naturally leaned in his policy toward the side of the monarchists. Now, after the republic was formally adopted and a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage, the monarchist tendency of the president caused the opening of a conflict which could not be settled until one party or the other should submit.

The republicans and monarchists were each divided into three groups. The republicans undertook to compel the president to change his policy, while the others sought to retain their influence by keeping the conservative (monarchist) office holders in their positions.

The pressure was so great that MacMahon decided to accept a ministry from the Left, but he continued to ask advice from his former ministers from the Right. Through part of the year 1876, and a few months of 1877, the republican ministry under Jules Simon held sway, but in May his friends succeeded in persuading the president to dismiss the Simon ministry, form one

of the opposing party, and dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. May 16, the date of these acts, is an important one in the history of the Third Republic, for it meant not only the opening of a violent conflict between the president and the Chamber of Deputies, but led to the adoption of a new principle of government. This principle was expressed in the now famous words of Gambetta while the political battle was at its hottest, "When the country shall have spoken, he must either submit or resign."

"Submit or resign."

The autumn elections sent a large majority of republicans to the Chamber of Deputies, and obliged the president to again take a ministry from the Left. This was the "submission" called for by Gambetta.

During the exposition held in Paris in 1878, President MacMahon represented the republic before foreign princes and people who came to visit. It was felt that the visits of the representatives of European royalty implied that the monarchies recognized the French republic as being fully established. Particularly was this idea given emphasis when the Prince of Wales entertained Gambetta at his hotel and spoke of him to others in admiring terms. But MacMahon as president, with a republican majority in the Chamber of Deputies, had little power or influence. His weakness became still more apparent when the elections for senators in January, 1879, replaced fifty-six monarchists and nineteen republicans with fifteen monarchists and sixty republicans.

Now both chambers were decidedly republican, and the president was without support. The republicans demanded the removal of some Bonapartist generals from the army. This touched the marshal-president in a tender spot, yet according to the phrase of Gambetta he must "either submit or resign." He had "submitted" once, now he "resigned," and Jules Grévy, a radical republican, was elected. From January, 1879, to the present (1902), the republicans have retained control of the government, although startled occasionally by a monarchist plot.

Resigns.

The Career of Gambetta. — For ten years after Gambetta left Paris in a balloon in 1870, he was the leader, the mouthpiece, of the most active republicans. He had assumed a dictatorship and collected troops to attempt to raise the siege of Paris. He retained his position until the election of the Bordeaux Assembly in February, 1871, and was determined to continue the war to the last extremity. Finding himself unsupported in this determination, he resigned, but as soon as peace was made his influence among the republicans began to be recognized, and it was not long before he was the spokesman for those opposed to the monarchists. After his speech at a banquet at Lille, August 15, 1877, in which he made the now famous phrase, "submit or resign," he was recognized by all parties as the republican champion. Although he was twice condemned to fine and imprisonment for using the phrase already mentioned, his position with the mass

Condemned for speech.

of people was so secure that the government did not dare to inflict the penalty.

In December, 1877, when, after the elections showing great republican gains, MacMahon preferred to "submit" rather than "resign," every one regarded it as Gambetta's victory. His earlier violent radicalism had been moderated by experience, hence his influence increased with all but the extreme Left. A little time only was needed to bring the whole of the political power to the republicans. Gambetta's appearance anywhere in public was the signal for popular and patriotic demonstrations.

President of Deputies.

In 1879, when MacMahon chose to "resign" rather than again "submit," Gambetta succeeded Grévy as president of the Chamber of Deputies. His championing the cause of the exiled communists led to the passing of a bill granting amnesty to all who were not convicted of murder or incendiarism and their restoration to the rights of citizenship. So great grew his power, in spite of the attacks of the most violent radicals, led by Rochefort, a pardoned communist, and the conservatives, that when he accepted the position of prime minister in 1881, some said, "The republic is Gambetta." His appointment of a well-known atheist to the position of minister of public worship and instruction shocked the conservatives. The extreme Left felt that he had deserted his earliest friends, and they joined with other opponents to defeat his proposed revision of the constitution. In less

than three months he resigned, January, 1882. He died in December of the same year without having regained his popularity.

French Colonies. — Since the period of the first French revolution little interest had been taken by French people or rulers in foreign colonies until in the second decade of the Third Republic. Then, as one distinguished French author remarks, "All the States of Europe . . . were launching out in the path of foreign conquests . . . ," hence "to abstain from this was not only to wrong the country but to give occasion to the enemies of the republic to hold it responsible for stagnation."

Tunis.

In the spring of 1881, it was reported that nomad Arabs, subjects of the bey of Tunis, were committing depredations in Algeria, a French territory in Northern Africa. Public sentiment was easily roused to demand the invasion of Tunis by French troops. A treaty was extorted from the bey, amounting to the establishment of a French protectorate. But it was not so easy to hold Tunis as to take it. Soon sixty thousand men were in the field, and so much money was demanded that much sentiment was aroused against the whole enterprise.

Madagascar.

In Madagascar, in 1882, certain alleged interferences with French interests caused a conflict between France and the leading tribe of the island, which resulted in a treaty by which the foreign relations of the island were to be controlled by France.

In 1896 the French chambers passed an act of annexation.

Tonquin.

The failure on the part of the emperor of Annam to execute the terms of a treaty made in 1874 brought on a war in French Indo-China, resulting in a protectorate over Annam and Tonquin (1883).

But little can be said in favor of the French colonial system at present. The laws affecting colonies are not such as to encourage enterprise in the colonies, and Frenchmen neither care to emigrate nor to be appointed to offices in the colonies. There is no stability in the management of the colonies. Between 1883 and 1891 there were twenty governor-generals in the Indo-Chinese Colony.

Banishment of the Princes. — Some of the Bonaparte and Orleans princes were so prominent and popular that republicans feared a repetition of the experience of 1848–1852. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had then rapidly advanced from deputy to president and emperor. In 1885 a law was passed which declared every prince of families formerly reigning in France ineligible to the office of president, senator, or deputy. The next year another law authorized the officers of the government to expel from the soil of France the Count of Paris and his son the Duke of Orleans, and Prince Napoleon and his son Prince Victor.

In 1890 the Duke of Orleans returned to Paris and offered himself as a volunteer in the army. He was

arrested and imprisoned, but later President Carnot permitted him to be taken to the border of France and set free. At present (1902), the Duke of Orleans and Victor Napoleon are respectively heads of the Bourbon and Bonaparte families and pretenders to the throne of France.

The Boulanger Episode. — About 1885 it became known that a number of people under the lead of Déroulède had formed an organization called the "Patriots' League." One of its purposes seemed to be to advocate a war of revenge against Germany. Whatever other purposes it may have had, it certainly needed a leader, and this it found in General Boulanger, who, by skillful means, was made so conspicuous as to become a sort of popular idol. He became minister of war in 1886, and used every means of attracting attention to himself. People of the most divergent opinions seemed each to see in him the champion of his cause. Everybody who was discontented with the actual condition of political affairs joined his followers; the irreconcilables led by Rochefort, who were opposed to the colonial policy, Bonapartists, and Orleans monarchists, seemed for the moment to forget all opposing interests in an inexplicable admiration of Boulanger.

Boulanger's popularity.

In the autumn of 1887, while Boulanger's popularity was still rising, Wilson, son-in-law of President Grévy, was implicated in the scandal arising from the sale of the decorations of the Legion of Honor. The Chamber

of Deputies demanded the resignation of the ministry and of the president. Grévy could induce no radical to form a ministry including Boulanger, and no one dared to form one without him; thus Grévy was forced to resign and Carnot, grandson of the "Organizer of Victory" in the first French revolution, was elected president.

Grévy forced to resign.

Arc du Carousel in the Court of the Louvre.
Constructed by Napoleon after the design of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum.

The Boulangist party, with no definite program, continued to advertise General Boulanger by offering him as a candidate for election to the Chamber of Deputies whenever there was a vacancy. What was the purpose

of all this no one seemed to know, but all assumed that the existing government was to give way to one in which Boulanger was to be the chief figure. Whether this was to be a new form of republic or to prepare for a return of monarchy will never be known, for in February, 1889, the method of election was changed so that no person might present himself for election in more than one district. A new ministry ordered Boulanger to be tried before the Senate for "offences against the safety of the state." He left the country immediately, and was condemned in absence. The great exposition in Paris during the summer of 1889 withdrew attention from the "episode," and Boulanger dropped from public view more suddenly than he had appeared. His suicide two years later was scarcely noticed by those who had so enthusiastically championed his cause.

Boulanger tried.

The Panama Scandal. — In 1882 work was begun on a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. This great enterprise was under the direction of Ferdinand de Lesseps, whose engineering fame had been established by the success of the Suez Canal. The work proved more expensive than had been anticipated, and in 1888 the Panama Canal Company stopped payments and shortly afterward a parliamentary investigation was begun. Public indignation against the directors of the company grew so rapidly that the whole matter soon became a political one. Accusations against senators, deputies, and others were recklessly made. The direc-

tors of the company were charged with using the funds to bribe public officials and newspapers to promote the canal scheme and defraud investors. The government, in December, 1892, arrested several directors, senators, and deputies. Early in 1893 sentence of imprisonment and fine was pronounced against Ferdinand de Lesseps, his son Charles, and several others. The scandal connected with the failure of the canal scheme had for a time seriously threatened the stability of the government.

The Dreyfus Affair. — The Third Republic in France has been strangely unfortunate in being several times brought to the verge of destruction by private matters becoming of national importance. The events which form what is known in France as "*L'affaire Dreyfus*" aroused world-wide interest.

In 1894, a captain of artillery named Alfred Dreyfus was condemned by court-martial to degradation and exile upon the charge of divulging military secrets to a foreign power. The public at that time generally believed in the guilt of Dreyfus. Nearly two years later certain evidence came to light which cast much doubt on the authorship of the document, called the "*Bordereau*," which had been the chief evidence against Dreyfus. From May, 1896, until September, 1899, all France was in a ferment of excitement over the "*affaire.*" Rumor, accusation, evidence false and true, were constantly flying about.

An organized effort, largely influenced by Zola the

novelist, was made to bring Dreyfus to a new trial. As a direct result of the agitation several cabinets were overthrown and suspicion cast upon many officers of the army and of the government. Reports of the sufferings of Dreyfus on the Isle du Diable added to the excitement. In June, 1899, the Court of Cassation ordered him to be brought before a new court-martial. The prisoner, ignorant of all the agitation in his behalf, was returned to France. From the 7th of August to the 9th of September the trial at Rennes was watched with intense interest by all the world. No verdict was ever awaited with so much anxiety by so many excited people. The decision of the judges was five to two against the accused. The public excitement was much abated a few days later when President Loubet issued a pardon to Dreyfus and set him at liberty. The exposition in Paris in 1900 diverted the public mind somewhat from the Dreyfus affair, as had that of 1889 from Boulanger.

Zola's efforts.

Second trial.

Fashoda. — There was for a short time in 1898 a possibility of difficulty between France and England over rival claims in Africa. Major Marchand, in command of an exploring force, had marched eastward from French Congo in Africa to Fashoda on the Nile. General Kitchener, with a British force, had just defeated the dervishes at Omdurman, and hearing of the occupation of Fashoda by white people, proceeded to that place. Marchand had hoisted the French flag, and refused to

withdraw without orders from his government. Both in France and England there were prophecies that conflict would occur in Africa which might cause war between the two European nations. The French government, however, decided to withdraw their forces from Fashoda, and the small war cloud faded away.

Strasburg Monument Decorated with Mourning Emblems.

Around the Place de la Concord in Paris are monuments to the chief cities of France: Bordeaux, Lille, Nantes, Strasburg, etc. Ever since Strasburg was captured by the Germans the monument has been regularly covered, like a tomb, with emblems of mourning.

Nationalist Party. — Paul Déroulède, a soldier in the Franco-Prussian War, and an author of some prominence, became prominent politically by his connection with the "Patriots' League" and Boulanger. The Patriots' League, and some other associations with similar names,

grew into a so-called national party. In February, 1899, at the funeral of President Felix Faure, Déroulède attempted to incite the troops to revolt, but was unsuccessful. This brought the "Nationalist" party into prominence. Déroulède and some of his fellow-conspirators were tried and acquitted.

The "Nationalist" party can scarcely be defined as a regular political organization, for it included in its ranks men whose only bond of union was opposition to the government. The government, however, felt that plots were being hatched which might prove really dangerous; accordingly, Déroulède, Guérin, Marcel-Habert, and others, were arrested and tried before the senate as a high court. The government did not succeed in making a strong case against the accused, but Déroulède and two others were condemned to banishment for ten years, and Guérin to imprisonment for the same length of time.

Tried for treason.

One after another, difficulties which have seriously menaced the existence of the republic have been met and overcome, and at the close of the nineteenth century it seems that the French people do not anticipate a return of monarchy.

Present Form of Government. — The president of the republic is elected for seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies meeting together as a National Assembly. The Chamber of Deputies (at present five hundred and eighty-four members) is elected for four years by universal suffrage. Deputies must be twenty-

five years old. The Senate is composed of three hundred members, elected for nine years by indirect election, from citizens forty years old. One third of the senators retire every three years. Both senators and deputies receive salaries.*

Presidents of the French Republic since 1871.

THIERS	1871–1873.
MACMAHON	1873–1879.
GRÉVY	1879–1887.
CARNOT	1887–1894.
CASIMIR-PÉRIER	June, 1894–January, 1895.
FAURE	1895–1899.
LOUBET	1899–

SECTION II.

The New German Empire.

Influence of Bismarck. — The present German Empire announced its existence to the world and began its career on the 18th of January, 1871. That it took up a task already under way, and that it employed largely the same individuals in that task, does not change the fact that a new world-power had begun to live.

The plan to bring into existence a new German Empire, with Prussia at the head, had without doubt been in the minds of some ambitious Prussians for a decade or more, and ever since Bismarck had become minister-

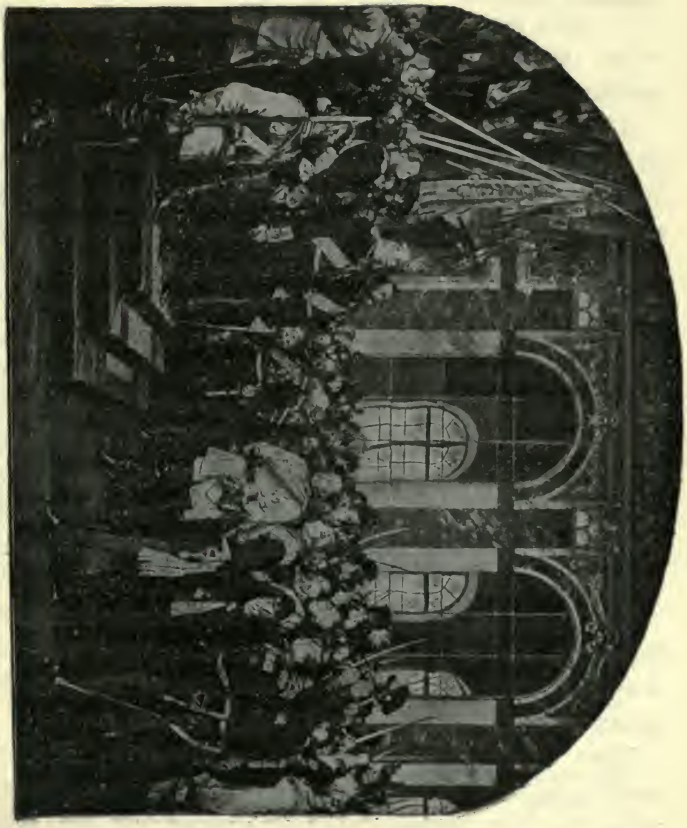
* For outline of present form of government of France and other nations, see "Statesman's Year Book," published annually.

president of the Prussian government in 1862, he had, with tremendous energy, been making use of all occurrences, political and industrial and commercial, to force Prussia to the front and into the position of recognized leadership in Germany.

How he made use of the Schleswig-Holstein controversy to bring about war with Austria as soon as Prussia was prepared for war, and by decisive defeat at Königgrätz to force Austria to withdraw her long-maintained assumption of leadership in Germany, is part of the history of the making of the new empire. How, too, the Zollverein, or Customs Union, between Prussia and the South German states was utilized by Bismarck to force political union, belongs to the same period. Whether we credit or not the assertions that Bismarck by questionable means hastened the war of 1870 between France and Prussia, certain it is that this war was not unwelcome to Prussian leaders, both civil and military, and certain it is also that the South German states were so convinced that the interests of Prussia were the interests of Germany that the South German states not only performed their full share in the war, but from one of them came the definite proposition to make William I of Prussia Emperor of Germany.

Influence of wars.

It was while the war was still unfinished, while the Germans were flushed with the triumphant invasion of an enemy's country, while the headquarters of the invaders were in the very palace of the French kings



Announcement of the Foundation of the Present German Empire, in the Gallery of Mirrors, Palace of Versailles, January 18, 1871.

at Versailles, that the Prussian ideal became a German reality, and in the gallery of Louis XIV's gorgeous palace, which had contained the rejoicings, time and again, of French victories over Germans, that the German Empire was announced.

Empire announced.

The announcement of a new empire is by no means all that is necessary to start it on its career of power and influence, but the announcement at the time of military triumphs went a long way toward drawing the confidence of foreign nations and of domestic forces and citizens. In spite of the great movements for universal peace, a political change ushered in by triumphant armies is fully as likely to compel attention and respect as entirely peaceful constitutional changes. What more fitting than that an empire, led by a state whose greatness had been demonstrated entirely by its strength of arms, should be born while booted generals with dragging sabers and clattering spurs were making echo in the palace of a defeated foe!

The machinery of the empire was already installed. Bismarck, the engineer, was already engaged and on duty, but many readjustments and repairs were to be found necessary before all would run smoothly.

How the Empire was made. — The unity of Germany, the very end that was dreaded by the French when the war began, was accomplished by the war. After the victory of Prussia over Austria, Prussia formed, in 1866, an offensive and defensive alliance with

the South German states, Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria. These states sent their troops to assist Prussia in the war with France. It had become more and more evident as the war progressed that these states had more interests in common with North Germany than the merely military one.

South German states.

The great victories over the French won by armies from all the German states created a community of feeling and interest which hastened German unity. While the armies were on foreign soil, during the siege of Paris, the union was accomplished. With the approval of all the German governments, King Ludwig II of Bavaria offered King William of Prussia the title of German Emperor. This meant that the South German states would join the North German Confederation, and the whole would be called the German Empire.

Common interests.

The solemn announcement of the empire was made by Bismarck, January 18, 1871, in the great Hall of Mirrors of Louis XIV's palace at Versailles. There were present many princes, ministers, and generals from all parts of Germany. The emperor's first proclamation to the German people closes with these words: "May God grant to us and our successors to the imperial crown that we may be the defenders of the German Empire at all times, not in martial conquests, but in works of peace, in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom,

Empire means peace.

Map showing boundaries of Central Europe after the formation of the German Empire in 1871.
Compare with map on page 280.

and civilization." The program here implied has been followed for thirty years, not without difficulties, yet Germany has been engaged in no war during that time, and has developed wonderfully in industrial and commercial lines.

Very soon the emperors of Austria and of Russia showed their approval of the new empire by friendly visits to Berlin, and within a few years Emperor William received the kings of Italy, Holland, and Sweden. All the powers but France wished to be on good terms. Diplomatic relations with the French Republic were soon resumed, but real cordiality is not likely to be felt by the French until the bitterness of defeat is forgotten.

Alsace and Lorraine.

The assimilation of the provinces Alsace and Lorraine was one of the first cares of the empire. The two provinces were not attached to any of the states composing the empire, but are imperial property. Those of the inhabitants who chose to remain French citizens were allowed to depart within a fixed time. Every effort has been made to attach the populations to German interests by means of schools, by representation in the imperial parliament, and by good administration.

The details of organization of the new empire caused at first some party differences, particularly in Bavaria, but these were arranged finally by special concession to Bavaria for the management of her army and postal system. The empire was composed of twenty-five independent states, varying in size from a single free city to

powerful Prussia. There were four kingdoms, six grand duchies, four duchies, seven principalities, and three free cities. In the upper house of the German parliament there is at least one member from even the smallest state, while the larger ones have a fixed number somewhat in proportion to their size.* The lower house of parliament, the Reichstag, was, by the constitution of 1871, to consist of three hundred and eighty-two members (in 1874 fifteen were added from Alsace and Lorraine) elected in proportion to population.

Composition of empire.

The chief political force in the new empire was Bismarck, the chancellor for nearly twenty years. Up to 1890 he controlled the whole governmental policy. Since that time the views of Emperor William II have dominated. There have been ten or twelve political parties in the Reichstag ever since the formation of the empire. The size of each has varied from time to time, but in 1871 the national liberal party was the most numerous. It had grown up on account of the great victories over the French and the consequent efforts for unity.

Bismarck at first allied himself with this party and continued his labors toward complete German unity. He found himself at first opposed by the party called the "Catholic Center." Under the Prussian constitution of 1850 the govern-

Source of opposition.

*Prussia has seventeen; Bavaria, six; Saxony and Württemberg, each four; Baden and Hesse, each three; Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick, each two; all others, one.

ment had given up its control over the clergy in matters of nominating and appointing bishops and priests. At the same time religious instruction in the primary schools was in charge of the clergy. The bishops in time acquired an influence over the laity which showed itself in the development of the Center party. This party demanded (in 1871) the restoration of the temporal power of the pope.

The Kultur Kampf. — One of the causes of weakness in the earlier German Empire, or Holy Roman Empire, lay in the relations of church and state, the papacy always claiming supremacy over the empire. As soon as the new empire was formed, in 1871, some of the clergy hoped that the old relation would be established and that the new emperor would use his power to reëstablish the pope in his temporal dominions, which had been absorbed into the Kingdom of Italy. It was not at all likely, however, that an emperor who was not a Roman Catholic would risk war with his neighbors and the existence of the new empire to restore these lands to the pope.

In 1870, the Vatican council adopted certain dogmas which were not accepted by some of the German clergy, who were accordingly excommunicated by the pope. The bishops forbade certain men to teach in the German universities and schools. The government upheld them. The breach between the government and the leaders of the Catholic church rapidly widened, and soon there was an open

Conflict begins.

political conflict, which has been known by the name of "*Kultur Kampf*," or war for civilization.

The battle was not fought with powder and ball but by manifestoes and decrees of the pope and Catholic clergy on one side, and repressive measures of the government on the other. Bismarck failed in negotiating with the pope, who refused to receive the ambassador sent. The government expelled the Jesuits and other religious orders. In December, 1872, all diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the German Empire ceased.

The clergy took the side of the pope, and the government treated them as rebels. In 1873, a series of acts were passed, known as the "May Laws," which were intended to place the clergy under the power of the state by requiring every candidate for the priesthood to study three years at a university and pass an examination in special subjects, and to prevent the appointment of all who did not comply with the requirement.

May Laws.

The government withheld the salaries of bishops and priests who refused to submit. In order to combat the Center, Bismarck began a policy of combining other parties. The *Kultur Kampf* went on for several years, but in 1878 Bismarck, wishing to carry a measure of protective tariff, was forced to form a coalition of conservatives and Catholics. After this there were attempts at reconciliation. The first negotiations with the new pope, Leo XIII, did not succeed, but the en-

forcement of the May Laws was gradually relaxed. The emperor was empowered to administer the May Laws at his own discretion. This was practically giving up the fight. The vacant bishoprics were filled, and by 1886 diplomatic relations were resumed with the Vatican.*

Conflict ends.

Economic and Political Progress. — During the years covered by the *Kultur Kampf*, Bismarck and the Reichstag were working in other directions for the consolidation and unification of the empire. Economic unity was accomplished by establishing a uniform currency, in 1872, with the *mark* as the unit,† and an imperial bank. After some negotiations between the ministers of the various individual governments, a common system of judicial procedure was established with regard to civil and criminal law.

In 1878 the policy of a protective tariff was inaugurated by means of the coalition of conservatives and Catholics in the Reichstag. The same coalition voted for the purchase of all the Prussian railroads by the state. Bismarck, by his interest in the latter plan and by favoring government insurance for working men, showed that he had adopted some of the doctrines of state socialism. But he by no means favored the political party known as "Socialist." From the establishment of the empire the government had prosecuted the socialistic leaders and their

Socialist party.

* The *Kultur Kampf* was not a war against the Roman Catholic Church as such, but rather an attempt to assert the authority of the state in affairs religious as well as political.

† Equal to about twenty-five cents, United States money.

press. In 1878 two attempts were made on the life of the emperor. Because the miscreants were Socialists, although they were not shown to have been agents of the party, severe laws were passed against socialist agitators. In spite of all prosecution, however, the party has continued to grow. In 1871 the Socialists elected two members of the Reichstag. By 1881, the party had twelve deputies in the Reichstag; in 1890, twenty-four; in 1898, fifty-six.

Bismarck's Term of Office. — From 1862 to 1890, during the period of the rise of Prussia to leadership in Germany and the first nineteen years of the empire, Bismarck continued to be the political leader in his country. Emperor William I depended upon him and trusted him implicitly. The emperor's thought was for the army, and Bismarck managed political affairs. William I died March 9, 1888, at the unusual age of ninety-one. His life and memory covered the whole period from Prussia's disgraceful submission to France to her triumph over the same power and new dignity as leader of the empire. His son, Frederick III, already suffering with an incurable malady, succeeded him for the short period of three months. This was too short a time to inaugurate any new policy, although if Frederick had lived longer he no doubt would have conformed the government more to the parliamentary methods of England, of which he was a great admirer. But he died on June 15, 1888, and his

Death of William I.

Death of Frederick III.

son came to the throne as William II, with Bismarck still as chancellor.

Bismarck had always been supported in his parliamentary conflicts by William I. Several times his opponents were beaten by Bismarck's threat to offer his resignation, but the emperor would never accept it. He continued to direct political affairs until William II had been long enough on the throne to feel firmly seated. The two men were too much alike in desiring to be supreme for either to be subordinate, and the emperor, in 1890, took the opportunity of asking Bismarck's resignation, after a difference over a comparatively unimportant matter. Since that time William II has himself been the actual head of his government. His ideas are the ones presented to the parliament for consideration, and he takes a most active interest in every line of progress for his country. The office of chancellor has been filled by capable men, but no one of them has possessed the commanding influence of Bismarck.

Dismissal of Bismarck.

Workmen's Insurance and Industrial Policy. — The most important bill passed by the German parliament during the first year of the reign of William II was one which related to the insurance of aged and invalid workmen. According to its provisions the employer, the employed, and the state each contribute to the fund, which insures eleven million workingmen. The first law of this kind was passed in 1883, changes were made in 1884, 1889, 1900. Up to 1897 the workmen had already

received one hundred and twenty-five million dollars more than they had put in.

William very early showed that he took great interest in the welfare of all workmen and industries. In 1890 he publicly announced his determination to work to this end, by issuing a decree calling for an international conference on labor questions. The conference met and accomplished something, though not as much as had been hoped; but the new emperor had thus clearly demonstrated his intention to develop Germany industrially. As the colonial interests of Germany have increased, William has also given much attention to the development of commerce and of the navy. While negotiating a commercial treaty with Russia, in 1894, the chancellor, Count Caprivi, briefly stated in a speech what seems to be the German policy during the reign of William II: "We care not for martial glory. The only fame we desire to have is that of solving problems touching the social and intellectual improvement of the people, of enabling the nations to live together peaceably, of drawing together the forces of Europe, of preparing the way for some future time when it may become necessary to bind together a larger group of nations in the interest of a great economic policy in common."

Labor conference.

Commercial policy.

The Army. — The organization of the Prussian army was mainly accomplished before the founding of the empire in 1871. Since that time the system has been

extended to the whole empire. Every able-bodied male is liable to military duty for at least six years. In 1874, the German army, in time of peace, had been fixed for seven years at four hundred and two thousand men. Bismarck desired the number to be increased in 1881, when the working of the present law should cease. It was pointed out that both the French and the Russian armies were much greater than the German. Nevertheless, it was only after overcoming much opposition and the dissolution of the Reichstag and election of a new one that the increase was carried.

Repeated increase.

In 1886 Bismarck made the existence of the Patriotic League in France and the excitement over Boulanger an excuse to demand an increase of forty-one thousand men. So much opposition appeared that it was not until 1888, by a combination of the efforts of three parties, that the increase was granted. A new army act, passed in 1893, provided for a still further increase of sixty thousand. By the same act the period of service under arms was reduced for the infantry from three to two years. The army at present, on a peace footing, includes 604,023 men and officers.

Colonies. — Until German merchants who had settled in Africa called upon the imperial government for protection, no interest had been taken in colonies. In 1884 Bismarck began to study the probable effect of a colonial policy upon trade. He soon decided to protect German traders in Africa and to follow the ex-

ample of other European nations in taking possession of African territory.

If Germany was the last of European nations to join in the partition of Africa, she was not intending to take a subordinate position, for Bismarck had no sooner caused a large amount of African territory to be occupied for German interests than he called an international conference at Berlin to consider problems relating to the colonization of Africa. Nearly all of the European nations and the United States took part in this conference. German possessions include nearly one million square miles in east, west, and southwest Africa.

Navy. — Germany took but little interest in her navy until colonial interests began to grow important. Since 1891 the Reichstag has frequently been asked for appropriations for its increase. A large increase in the number of men in the navy was voted to begin in 1892, and at intervals a large number of ships have been built. But the Reichstag has, in general, been less willing to vote an increase in the navy than in the army.

In 1897, Emperor William II, in his speech at the opening of the Reichstag, dwelt upon the necessity of an increase. "The development of our navy does not correspond to the duties which Germany is compelled to impose upon it. In case of war it would not suffice to secure the home ports and coasts against blockade and other hostile operations. It has not kept pace with the

brisk growth of our transoceanic interests. Germany is taking a growing part in the commerce of the world, but the number of our warships does not suffice to afford the measure of protection to our countrymen abroad corresponding to our position, which can be afforded only by a display of power. Although it is not an object to vie with the maritime powers of the first rank, Germany must take care that she is able to maintain her prestige among the nations of the world by her naval armaments." A bill passed in 1898 appropriated about one hundred million dollars for the construction of warships.

Alsace-Lorraine. — The provinces taken from France in 1871 were not attached to any German state, but were designated as imperial lands, and provided with a separate government. The emperor appoints a *statthalter*, who resides in Strasburg and is assisted by a council of state and ministry. The imperial government has made every effort to Germanize the people of these provinces. In 1872 all who chose to be French citizens were permitted to emigrate, but all who remained after that time have been treated as German subjects. A whole generation has grown up since the transfer of this territory from France to Germany, and the people seem to have peaceably acquiesced in the change. Modifications of the government from time to time have tended to relax severity and attach the people to German interests.

Tariff Legislation. — In 1878 Bismarck brought

before the Federal Council a plan for a protective tariff, claiming that the revenues of the government needed to be increased. The Reichstag passed the measure in 1879. Duties on lumber, grain, and other necessities were greatly increased, and the whole financial policy of the empire was thus reversed. The duty on grain was again increased in 1885, and still again in 1887. Germany still adheres to a protective policy, yet since 1889 treaties of reciprocity have been made with Switzerland, Spain, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Belgium.

The Kiel Canal. — The commercial and manufacturing interests of Germany have increased vastly within a few years. Many of the cities have more than trebled in population since the foundation of the empire. A great enterprise, intended to facilitate commerce, as well as be of service in case of war, was completed in 1895. A canal sixty-one miles long, between the Baltic and the North Sea, was begun in 1887 by Emperor William I. Its opening in June, 1895, was made the occasion of a great naval celebration, in which the warships from all the important nations of Europe participated. About two and one-half days' time is saved in sailing from Kiel to Hamburg by way of the canal, and warships, as well as merchantmen of all nations, are permitted to use it in time of peace.

In June, 1900, Emperor William II formally opened another ship canal between the North Sea and the Baltic, which will greatly benefit the states along the

Elbe River, as also the Scandinavian nations. Several other canals are planned.

Agrarian Opposition. — The great industrial and commercial development of Germany has been coincident with a depression in agriculture. Consequently a strong movement, headed by an Agrarian League, has been made to compel the state to enact protective tariff laws for the benefit of agriculture. The government has shown that it favors these demands but little, yet, to make some concession, a sugar tax (1896) and a meat inspection bill (1900) have been passed to partially appease the agrarians.

Triple Alliance. — The Berlin Congress of 1878 discussed the settlement of territorial questions resulting from the war, just ended, between Russia and Turkey. In this discussion Germany took the side of England against Russia, and Austria, having interests of her own in the Eastern question, voted against Russia. After the congress, in 1879, a treaty was made between Germany and Austria-Hungary, in which Italy joined in 1881. This has been known as the "Triple Alliance." The treaty is understood to guard against possible aggression by France or Russia. In brief, it means that if France should attack either Germany or Italy, the two latter powers are to act against France. If Russia should attack Germany or Austria, both would join in war against Russia, and if Russia and France together should attack any one of the three parties in the Alliance, they will be obliged to face the armies of all

three. Bismarck, in a speech, said: "The territory of the Triple Alliance coincides in a remarkable manner with the old Holy Roman Empire." Whether it is entirely owing to the Alliance cannot be stated, yet it is noteworthy that peace has been maintained among all the nations affected by this treaty.*

Government of the Empire. — The purpose of the German Empire, as stated in its constitution of 1871, is to "form an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people." The King of Prussia is vested with the direction of the political and military affairs of the empire. In this capacity he bears the title of "German Emperor." Legislation for the empire is by the Bundesrath and Reichstag. The Bundesrath represents the government of the several states of Germany, and the Reichstag represents the people. The members of the Bundesrath are appointed by the governments of the individual states for each session, and those of the Reichstag elected for five years by citizens over twenty-five years of age. The chancellor of the empire presides in the Bundesrath, and a noteworthy peculiarity of the German constitution gives the chancellor and members of Bundesrath right to take part in the debates in the Reichstag. The best idea of the importance of Prussia in the empire can be given by the following table: —

* The Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs announced in May, 1902, that the Triple Alliance would be renewed when it expires in 1903.

States of the Empire.	Number of Members in Bundesrath.	Number of Deputies in Reichstag.
Kingdom of Prussia	17	236
Kingdom of Bavaria	6	48
Kingdom of Saxony	4	23
Kingdom of Württemberg	4	17
Grand Duchy of Baden	3	14
Grand Duchy of Hesse	3	9
Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin . .	2	6
Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar	1	3
Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz . .	1	1
Grand Duchy of Oldenburg	1	3
Duchy of Brunswick	2	3
Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen	1	2
Duchy of Saxe-Altenburg	1	1
Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1	2
Duchy of Anhalt	1	2
Principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen .	1	1
Principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt . .	1	1
Principality of Waldeck	1	1
Principality of Reuss Aelterer Linie . . .	1	1
Principality of Reuss Jüngerer Linie . . .	1	1
Principality of Schaumburg-Lippe	1	1
Principality of Lippe	1	1
Free town of Lübeck	1	1
Free town of Bremen	1	1
Free town of Hamburg	1	3
Reichsland of Alsace-Lorraine	–	15
Total	58	397

SECTION III.

Great Britain, 1867-1900.

Second Reform Bill. — While Lord John Russell was prime minister, Gladstone, as leader in the House of Commons, introduced, in 1860, a reform bill which provided for lowering the qualifications for the franchise. The majority in the House of Commons did not favor the measure, and the ministry resigned in order to show to the public their devotion to reform.

A new conservative ministry under Lord Derby came into power, and Disraeli was party leader in the House of Commons. Neither the House nor the ministry seemed to be interested in reform, but there was so much excitement over the subject in many of the cities that Disraeli decided to gain the credit of introducing it. So inconsistent did it seem for the conservative party to champion a democratic measure that three of the members of the cabinet resigned rather than be connected with it. The bill passed, however, in 1867, and great numbers were added to the list of voters in England. In the next year bills were passed which changed the franchise in Ireland and Scotland in a similar manner.

The Fenians. — During the time of the discussion upon the subject of reform of the franchise, there were threats of serious trouble in Ireland. For four or five years there had been signs of an unsettled condition in that island. A great society, known by the name "Fe-

nian," became suddenly prominent. Many of its members were Irishmen who had served in the Civil War in the United States and afterward returned to Ireland. The organization, with headquarters in America, probably intended to accomplish the separation of Ireland from England. How far the Fenians would have gone it is difficult to say, as the first insurrections in Ireland were unsuccessful. Some Irish in Manchester, in attempting to rescue Fenian prisoners from a van, killed a policeman. Three of the would-be rescuers were hanged. This seemed to end the Fenian movement, but important changes for Ireland came as a direct result.

Reforms under Gladstone. — Gladstone, who had been studying Irish questions for years, came to the conclusion that if men were willing to risk their lives for Ireland real grievances existed. He proposed in the House of Commons resolutions providing for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The Irish Church really was the English Church established in Ireland. The Irish people in general never favored it and, although compelled to pay for its support, attended other services which they supported voluntarily. As Gladstone's resolutions were carried, the ministry were left in the minority, and Disraeli, now prime minister, dissolved Parliament.

The new elections, under the enlarged franchise, sent a liberal majority to Parliament. Gladstone became prime minister, and in 1869 a bill was passed which effected the disestablishment proposed in the resolu-

tions of the previous year. The titles and estates of the church were taken away and used for three purposes. First, those persons, rectors and others, who were considered to have had vested interests were compensated. A large sum was given to the two churches most popular in Ireland, — the Catholic and the Presbyterian. The remainder of the money was kept as a fund for the relief of unavoidable suffering in Ireland.

Irish disestablishment.

In 1870 a Land Act for Ireland was passed which was intended to better the condition of the peasant tenants of land. It provided that a tenant, if evicted by a landlord, should be paid for the improvements he had made on the estate.

Land Act.

Board Schools in England. — In the same year a great reform was begun in education in England by the passage of an act making primary instruction obligatory. Heretofore only private schools had been maintained. In some parts of England there were a sufficient number of these and the people were able to pay the tuition, but elsewhere the densest ignorance prevailed. The Education Act of 1870 provided for the election of school boards, which could levy taxes for the support of schools, compel attendance upon them, and charge no fees to the poor. The schools established as a consequence of this act are commonly known as "Board Schools," and because of the poor being admitted without payment, the more well-to-do classes have avoided them by patronizing private schools. The instruction and equipment of the

Board Schools has become superior in many cases to the private schools in the vicinity, and hence public education is growing in popularity.

Abolition of Army Purchase. — Another reform accomplished by the Gladstone ministry was the abolition of the custom of officers purchasing their commissions in the army. One can readily see how the purchase of any appointments by rich men might lead to abuses, injustice, and incompetence. The custom long in vogue had indeed led to such corruption that its abolition seemed absolutely necessary. The bill introduced to accomplish this passed the House of Commons but was obstructed in the House of Lords. Mr. Gladstone outwitted the Lords, much to their disgust and anger, by inducing Queen Victoria to cancel the warrant which permitted purchase. Mr. Disraeli characterized this as "high-handed, though not illegal, exercise of the royal prerogative."

Ballot.

Both the reforms of 1832 and 1867 had been carried without altering the custom of *viva voce* voting. The landlords had favored this because they could thus know the votes of their tenants. A method of secret ballot, known as the "Australian System," was another of the reforms accomplished under the Gladstone ministry in 1872.

The years 1868 to 1874 were notable because of the number of reforms accomplished, but so much had been done that the public and Parliament seemed for the time to be very weary of reform, and Gladstone, after failing

to carry another bill affecting Ireland, dissolved Parliament in January, 1874. The Conservatives obtained a majority in the elections, and Disraeli became again prime minister.

Second Disraeli Ministry. — The Conservatives now held office for a period somewhat longer than the Liberals had just completed. The Liberal period had been characterized by an unbroken series of domestic reforms. With remarkably few exceptions the Conservative period was noteworthy for a neglect of affairs at home for a more striking foreign policy.

Disraeli chose to excite English patriotism on the subjects of colonies and the Eastern question. The Prince of Wales made a tour through India, and two years later Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. Disraeli had accomplished this to interest the natives in British rule.

Foreign policy.

In the pursuit of his colonial policy, Disraeli (created Lord Beaconsfield in 1876) involved England in wars with natives in Africa and Asia, and by his diplomatic interference after the war between Russia and Turkey (1877–1878) prevented Russia from gaining much by her victory. Beaconsfield and Salisbury were the British representatives at the Congress of Berlin, which was called at the invitation of Bismarck to discuss the Eastern question and avert probable war between Russia and England. Turkey ceded Cyprus to England to pay for the promise of protection against future Russian aggression.

The Home Rule Questions. — The Irish Parliament had ceased to exist in 1800, and immediately there began an agitation to restore some form of Irish independence. Discussion, rising at times to violence, continued through the nineteenth century. In 1865 to 1867 it had shown itself by the Fenian movement. Some of the Irish members of Parliament always favored Home Rule, but they were not often many in number or influential. In 1873 a new and vigorous Irish national movement began. The elections of 1874 sent to Parliament sixty of the Irish members who had offered themselves for election on the basis of Home Rule. Very soon after this (1875) Charles Stewart Parnell was elected to Parliament and became the leader of the Home Rule party. He induced his followers to adopt in Parliament a policy of "obstruction," that is, of blocking all business until the Irish question should be considered. Obstruction had been employed occasionally before, but never to such an extent as now. As there was no rule to prevent any member from speaking as long as he chose, the Home Rulers began talking an indefinite length of time on every question that came up, calling for votes to consume time, offering amendments to every bill, demanding count to determine quorum, making motions to adjourn, and using all parliamentary devices to prevent progress in the business of the House.

Obstruction.

Parnell went to America and raised a large sum of money to aid the Irish cause.

In 1880 the Liberals again obtained a majority in Parliament, and Gladstone was once more prime minister. He tried to appease the Irish by a bill for the protection of tenant farmers, but the Home Rulers would have no half measures. Another bill was proposed, to punish crimes committed by members of the Land League in Ireland, and the Irish party in Parliament, in retaliation, prolonged one session for two days and nights continuously. The conflict between the Liberals and Home Rulers continued with more or less violence until the Liberals went out of office in 1885.

Gladstone for Home Rule.

When the Home Rulers used their balance of power, in 1886, against the Conservatives, Gladstone for a third time came into office. This time he himself proposed a Home Rule measure for Ireland. It failed in the House of Commons.

Gladstone was a fourth time prime minister of Great Britain, 1892–1894, and in 1893 introduced another Home Rule bill which was more liberal to Ireland than his former measure. This passed the House of Commons but was lost in the House of Lords. No serious effort has since been made to consider the question of Home Rule.

England in Egypt. — The mismanagement of his finances by the Khedive of Egypt compelled him to sell his shares in the Suez Canal. Disraeli purchased them for England. This was regarded by the friends

of Disraeli as a brilliant stroke of foreign policy. The result of this beginning has been to bring Egypt more and more under English influence. The money obtained for the Suez shares was not sufficient to last long, so England and France assumed control of Egyptian finances to protect the interests of the English and French citizens who held Egyptian bonds.

In 1882 the natives of Egypt, following Arabi Pasha, raised an insurrection against foreigners. As the khedive was unable to maintain order, the duty was left to France and England. France refused to assume further responsibility, so after the bombardment of Alexandria by an English fleet and the defeat of the rebels by an army under Lord Wolseley, England assumed virtual control of Egyptian affairs and has maintained that position ever since, although the khedive is nominal ruler under the suzerainty of Turkey.

The Boer Question. — The Dutch originally settled at the Cape of Good Hope about the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1795 the Cape was captured by the British during the war with France. At the Peace of Amiens, 1803, it was restored to the Dutch, but taken again in 1806. Since that time it has been the property of Great Britain.

The Dutch inhabitants of South Africa are called "Boers." When Great Britain freed the slaves in her colonies in 1834, the Boers, being displeased with this policy, left the colony and settled in Natal. In 1843 this territory was taken by the British. The Boers

again "trekked" northward, and founded the Orange Free State. This settlement came under the British authority in 1848. Again the Boers fled across the Vaal River, and founded the Transvaal Republic. The Orange Free State was restored to the Boers in 1854, and their future independence guaranteed. The Transvaal Republic had much trouble with natives, and some individual Boers suggested, in 1877, that the country be placed under the protection of Great Britain. The English commissioner, who was sent to investigate the matter, took the frightened desires of a few to be the sentiment of the whole nation, and, hoisting the British flag, declared the republic part of the territory of Great Britain.

This latter occurrence was during the period of Beaconsfield's ministry. In 1880, encouraged by speeches made by Mr. Gladstone in the election campaign, the Boers, making use of an insignificant occurrence, began a rebellion against the British authority. At the battle of Majuba Hill the British forces were completely defeated, and peace was established by restoring the Transvaal Republic under a British protectorate.

About 1884 gold was discovered in the territory of the Transvaal. Foreigners, largely Englishmen, entered the new gold fields, until in 1890, they (Uitlanders) numbered about one hundred thousand living in the vicinity of Johannesburg. The rapid growth of foreign population and the introduction of railways and other improvements of civilization were displeasing to the slow-moving agricultural Boers.

The government was entirely in the hands of the Boers, and the Uitlanders demanded the privilege of becoming citizens and taking part in the government. There seemed to be some reason for this demand, because the republic had been poor before the gold seekers came to the Transvaal. Now the treasury was full from taxes upon mines and tariff upon supplies used by the miners.

The privileges of foreigners were less than they had been ten years before. The Uitlanders organized a conspiracy in conjunction with inhabitants of another British colony in South Africa, in 1895. Under the lead of Dr. Jameson an invasion of the Transvaal territory was planned and executed in 1895. Jameson and some of his companions were arrested. Jameson was taken to England, tried, and imprisoned. The British colonial secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, asked of the Transvaal Republic redress for some of the Uitlander grievances. No definite agreement could be reached by diplomacy, and war resulted in the autumn of 1899.*

Electoral Reform of 1884. — The two reform bills of 1832 and 1867 had made the representation in Parliament more in accord with the distribution of population and had greatly extended the franchise. But there was still an inequality between the boroughs and counties. Gladstone, during his second ministry in 1884, presented a measure to accomplish this reform. It passed the

* Peace was concluded in 1992, after an heroic struggle by the Boers against enormous odds. The terms of peace were very favorable to the Boers, but the Transvaal Republic has ceased to exist and the territory is part of the British colony.

House of Commons without opposition, and the House of Lords accepted it the following year. By this reform, new seats in Parliament were created and the number of members raised to six hundred and seventy,— the present number. The extension of the franchise in the counties admitted agricultural laborers as voters.

The Reign of Victoria. — The whole period of the reign of Victoria was filled with reforms of the internal policy of England. The most striking of the changes since 1870 have been in connection with the foreign policy of Great Britain, the growth of the colonies, and the increasing mutual interest of colonies and mother country.

The reign of Victoria was longer than that of any previous monarch of England. In 1887 a great celebration of the fiftieth year of Victoria's reign was held in London. Great interest was taken in this celebration, and representatives came from all parts of the British Empire. Due prominence was given to the fact that Queen Victoria was the first constitutional sovereign to occupy the throne of England, and the statement was often repeated that Victoria's reign was, on the whole, the best that the kingdom had ever enjoyed.

The Jubilee.

Ten years later the sixtieth anniversary of the beginning of her reign was celebrated. This occasion was called the "Diamond Jubilee." The demonstrations on this occasion surpassed those of a decade earlier. Great prominence was given to the representatives

from the colonies. On the anniversary of her coronation, June 20, the Diamond Jubilee of the queen was celebrated in the churches and chapels of all denominations throughout her dominions. The grand procession which occurred June 22 in London included representatives from every race and nation which acknowledged the queen's supremacy. The queen recognized the unanimous feeling of loyalty displayed throughout the British dominions by a letter dictated to her people on July 15, 1897. It closes with these words :—

Diamond Jubilee.

"I shall ever pray God to bless them, and to enable me still to discharge my duties for their welfare as long as life lasts.

"VICTORIA, R. I."*

Prime Ministers since 1868.

DISRAELI (*Conservative*), February, 1868, to September, 1868.
GLADSTONE (*Liberal*), September, 1868, to February, 1874.
DISRAELI † (*Conservative*), February, 1874, to April, 1880.
GLADSTONE (*Liberal*), April, 1880, to June, 1885.
LORD SALISBURY (*Conservative*), June, 1885, to February, 1886.
GLADSTONE (*Liberal*), February, 1886, to July, 1886.
LORD SALISBURY (*Conservative*), July, 1886, to August, 1892.
GLADSTONE (*Liberal*), August, 1892, to March, 1894.
LORD ROSEBERY (*Liberal*), March, 1894, to June, 1895.
LORD SALISBURY (*Conservative*), June, 1895, to July, 1902.
BALFOUR (*Conservative*), July, 1902, to ——.

* The queen lived to January 23, 1901, and was succeeded by her son, Edward VII, the present king.

† Became Lord Beaconsfield in 1876.

Section IV.

Russia, 1815-1900.

Reign of Alexander I. — The great prominence of Russia in European affairs after 1815 was the result of the influence of the Czar Alexander in the last coalition to overthrow Napoleon. The Holy Alliance was planned by Alexander himself while under the influence of a certain religious enthusiast. According to this document, the monarchs who signed it agreed to govern their respective territories according to the principles of the Christian religion. Alexander's interests were fully as much European as Russian. Indeed, to the present time it is the European relations of Russia which are known rather than her internal history. Alexander had been a great admirer of Napoleon after the meeting on the raft at Tilsit (1807). For about ten years he seemed entirely converted to liberal ideas, and began the execution of many plans which would have placed Russia among the progressive European nations, but Metternich played upon his fears, and in 1818 he changed completely and joined the reactionists, and for the remainder of his life lent assistance to Austria in suppressing liberal movements in Italy.

Liberal period.

At the Congress of Vienna the larger part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw had been given to Russia. This state had been created by Napoleon out of portions

of Poland which had been seized by Prussia and Austria at the end of the eighteenth century. Alexander called it the "Kingdom of Poland" and gave it a constitution. It was joined to Russia by a personal union only. The czar was king of Poland, but all administrative officers were Poles except the viceroy and imperial commissioners. All this looked very much like liberal government, but Alexander's liberalism was not enduring, nor were the Poles satisfied with the narrow limits of their kingdom. They wished to include all of the former kingdom of Poland, and formed societies to agitate in favor of enlarged boundaries. The Diet of Polish representatives, which should have met once in two years, found its deliberations confined within very narrow limits and was soon forbidden to meet.

Reactionary period.

The condition of affairs in Poland brought on the revolution, which is discussed in another paragraph.

The Reign of Nicholas I. — Emperor Alexander I died in 1825. His nearest heir was his brother Constantine, who had renounced his right to the throne.

The next younger brother was Nicholas, who, upon the death of Alexander, at once recognized Constantine as czar and waited for Constantine to again renounce the succession before himself taking the throne. During this period of waiting an insurrection of discontented Russian subjects broke out in St. Petersburg. The leaders of this insurrection were no doubt connected with the society which was in

Insurrection.

correspondence with the secret political societies of other nations in Europe. In connection with two regiments at St. Petersburg, they attempted to begin a revolution, with the cry, "Long live Constantine and the Constitution!" It is said that the ignorant soldiers believed the Constitution to be Constantine's wife. The revolt was immediately checked, the leaders prosecuted, and several condemned to death.

Nicholas, who came to the throne, was filled with the idea of hatred for liberalism as illustrated in such outbreaks, and he established a political police for the purpose of watching persons suspected of conspiracy. The Polish insurrection was put down with great severity in 1831–1832. His entire reign from 1825 to 1855 differs from that of Alexander in that he attempted to restore the old Russian system as it had been before the liberal period of Alexander's reign. Foreigners who were permitted to enter Russia were under constant surveillance. Foreign books and papers were subject to censorship. The Russians themselves were isolated from the rest of the world, and European civilization was a sealed book to them. Nicholas attempted to Russianize all the provinces which had been attached to Russia by recent wars and treaties.

Severity.

The severity of Nicholas' reign was denounced by all liberal European countries. The Russian Empire was governed as a military camp, but so thoroughly had Nicholas shut out from Russia the improvements to be found in other European nations that when the Cri-

mean War broke out he found that his army lacked almost everything to make it effective. The resistance of the Russians in so far as it was effective was almost solely by force of numbers. Nicholas died (1855) before the war was ended.

Liberalism of Alexander II. — Nicholas' son and successor, Alexander II, saw that prosperity for Russia must be obtained by conforming somewhat to the civilized customs of the remainder of Europe. Although he did not issue a constitution, he began his reign by making reforms of great importance. He called upon the nobles in his empire to assist him; but it was no easy matter to overcome the objections of the officers in all departments of Russian administration. The corruption in office had gone to an extent almost inconceivable, and every effort was made by those in office to repress further reform of any kind. There was a party, however, which favored liberal institutions like those in the rest of Europe, and which worked in conjunction with Alexander for reforms. They favored liberty of the press, education, and emancipation of the serfs.

Liberation of serfs.

If the reign of Alexander were distinguished for nothing else, the emancipation of the serfs would make it rank with the notable reform periods of the nineteenth century. The Russian peasants were attached to the soil. They were unable to move, and remained practically the slaves of the proprietor of the land. A most comprehensive

plan was advanced for the liberation of serfs and to afford them opportunity for self-support and possession of property. Immediately upon their emancipation the serfs were permitted to buy the land on which they had labored, in amounts proportional to the number of male members in the family. The government provided the purchase money, which was to be repaid in forty-nine years.

Other reforms of Alexander were the remodeling of the schools according to the German system, and the reorganization of the army on the Prussian model.

From the apparent tendency to reform which Alexander showed by all of these changes, the Liberals expected that he would grant a constitution, but he steadily refused. Even the reforms already inaugurated were so violently opposed by the public officials as a class that it was extremely difficult to put the reforms into effect.

The result of the Polish insurrection begun in 1863 was to somewhat destroy the confidence of the czar in the reform party. Thus the reactionists and officials had the opportunity they desired. Under the liberal régime in Russia, the Zemstvos, or local assemblies, had been allowed, after 1862, to take part in local administration, and about the same time a judicial system, somewhat similar to those of eastern Europe, had been established. After the Polish rebellion the Zemstvos of St. Petersburg was dissolved for petitioning for greater liberty, and

Liberalism ends.

the jury system was used but rarely, justice being administered according to the old manner, secretly.

Count Tolstoy,* the minister of education, began to change the courses in the schools by forbidding the teaching of modern science, which was considered revolutionary. The study of the classics was encouraged, but scientific schools and associations of students were forbidden as hot-beds of anarchy. The opponents of this reactionary régime have been known as "Nihilists," but the Nihilists of different dates have differed in their principles. From 1860 to 1878 they offered little violent opposition to the government, but after that period they became active in plots, and inaugurated a reign of terror against office holders and the czar himself. To oppose this violence the government increased its means of repression. The country was divided into military districts, and the governors-general were given the powers of dictators. The activity of the Nihilists increased, and in 1879 an attempt was made to assassinate the czar. Fortunately, however, only his baggage train was blown up. The next year a mine was exploded under the dining-hall of his winter palace, and again the czar escaped.

Alexander despairs.

Alexander II, discouraged at the situation and hopeless for better times, appointed Melikoff practically as dictator. This was almost equivalent to abdicating in favor of one of his subjects. Melikoff was given authority to guard the peace

* Not the novelist, Leo Tolstoy.

of the empire. Instead of severity he tried conciliation. He dismissed Count Tolstoy, who had been so obnoxious to the Liberals, and obtained from Alexander a promise to call an assembly of delegates from the different parts of the empire for the purpose of consultation. The order, however, was never issued, for the czar was assassinated in 1881.

Reign of Alexander III. — Russia had been just upon the border of taking on constitutional life, but Alexander III was afraid to continue the liberal program of his father lest the government should fall into the hands of those who approved of assassination. He dismissed Melikoff, and announced that he should maintain the autocratic system. He did not abolish the reforms accomplished during his father's reign, but made no effort whatever to carry them into operation. His whole reign was disturbed with fear of assassination, and he lived as a prisoner in his own palaces.

Personally, Alexander III was kind and generous. He distributed seed to the peasantry after bad harvests and furnished food during famine from his own private property, but he was quite as rigid against foreign literature as had been Nicholas I. The thirteen years of his reign were characterized by constant effort to make all of Russia Russian in every particular. The Russian language and religion were pressed upon the natives of territories now attached to Russia which already had a language and a religion of their own. The severity of the police in sending political agitators as exiles to

Siberia has possibly been exaggerated, yet there is no doubt of great injustice having been done.

Nicholas II. — The present czar, Nicholas II, came to the throne in November, 1894, upon the death of his father, Alexander III. The whole world awaited with interest the declaration of policy from the new emperor. He announced that he should continue in the same path as his father. Although this was a disappointment to many who were interested in progress, there is much reason to believe that Nicholas II believes in modern ideas and will introduce reforms into his administration as rapidly as he believes it to be wise. Several of his acts indicate that the old system is approaching a change.

Many improvements have been made in the government of Poland. Local governments have been introduced there, upon the plan that exists in Russia. Permission has been given to the Roman Catholics in Poland to restore their churches, and the Polish press has been freed from former restrictions. When the czar paid a visit to Warsaw, in 1897, he was received with a welcome which would scarcely have been possible for any of his predecessors after Alexander I.

In 1896 the emperor and empress made a tour of Europe, visiting Emperor Franz Josef in Vienna, Emperor William at Berlin, President Faure in Paris, and Queen Victoria at Balmoral. It was understood that a treaty of alliance was made between France and Russia on the occasion of the visit, although the rumor was not

confirmed until the occasion of President Faure's visit to St. Petersburg in the following year.

Peace Proposal. — In August of 1898, Nicholas II sent to the foreign ambassadors at St. Petersburg a note requesting an assembly of delegates from the different governments of the world to discuss the maintenance of peace and the disarmament of the nations. The next year the conference assembled at The Hague in Holland and discussed many questions relating to international peace. Not all was accomplished that might have been anticipated, yet much of the credit for the work of The Hague conference belongs to the Emperor of Russia, at whose suggestion it assembled.

Treatment of Finland. — Some surprise was created by the treatment of the province of Finland by Russia at the very time when the Peace Conference was in session. Many changes were made in Finland in the direction of Russianizing that province. Administration in Finland was so altered that all the special privileges which had indicated the existence of a state of Finland, such as currency, postage, free religion, etc., were taken away. The Finns who had heretofore served in the army had not been compelled to leave their home state. Now Finnish recruits must serve wherever they may be sent in the empire. This was such a blow to the Finns that they draped their capitol in mourning, and great numbers of them emigrated to Canada and the United States.

Russia has been for a few years extending her rail-

ways throughout European Russia and across her Asiatic possessions. New ports and harbors have been opened, and Russia seems to be entering upon a vigorous competition with the rest of the world in commercial enterprises.

Poland. — Poland, although now a part of Russia, deserves separate treatment because of its former importance and because of its resistance of efforts to incorporate it completely into Russia.

Until 1772, Poland was larger in territory than any country in Europe except Russia. In that year, at the suggestion of Frederick the Great of Prussia, Russia, Austria, and Prussia seized and divided among themselves eighty-two thousand square miles of territory, containing a population of nearly five million people. In 1793, Russia and Prussia took one hundred and eighteen thousand square miles and four million people. This second partition was through the intrigue of Catherine II of Russia. The Poles, in desperation at these high-handed proceedings, rose all over the country and attacked, at first successfully, both the Russians and Prussians. Austria, annoyed at having been left out of the second robbery, now invaded Poland. In spite of the heroism of Kosciusko, the head of the last patriot army, the armies of the three robber monarchs were successful, and when they divided the spoil in 1795, no Poland was left. Its king, Stanislaus, died broken-hearted in 1798.

Partitions.

During the wars of Europe against France, Napoleon,

by suggestions of reëstablishing the kingdom of Poland, always had enthusiastic Polish divisions in his army. But the hopes of the Polish patriots were only partially fulfilled by Napoleon. By the treaty of Tilsit in 1807, there was established the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was composed chiefly of the portion of Poland belonging to Prussia. But with the successes of the allied armies against Napoleon, in 1813, even the Grand Duchy of Warsaw ceased to exist.

The reärrangement of territory made by the Congress of Vienna gave the larger part of the Duchy of Warsaw to Russia. It was attached to Russia as a province of the empire. Alexander, more liberal than any other monarch in Europe, gave to it the title "Kingdom of Poland" and a constitution. For three years the czar continued in the liberal path, and in the spring of 1818, he addressed an enthusiastic speech to the Polish Diet, in which he announced his intention to extend representative government to the whole of Russia. For some reason not thoroughly known, perhaps fear of assassination, Alexander changed completely to the despotic side. He died in 1825.

Kingdom of Poland.

Polish Rebellion. — His brother Constantine, who had been appointed governor of Poland, irritated the people by breaches of the constitution, so that by 1830 leading Polish military men were thoroughly determined upon revolution. The Czar Nicholas assembled the Polish armies in October with the intent of assisting absolutism

in France and Belgium. This was just the time to rebel. The officers of the Polish regiments made the plans for a general rising, to begin on the 29th of November. The Grand Duke Constantine was driven from his palace. Within a few days all the Russians were out of the country, and Poland appeared to be again free. The rejoicing was unbounded; but the great military power of Russia was not yet in action.

For about two months the Poles attempted to govern themselves, but the same characteristics of disunion which had made possible the partition in the previous century were now present. Aristocratic and democratic leaders could not agree as to the manner of defence when Russia should attack them. Some had faith enough to believe that an embassy to Czar Nicholas could obtain from him adherence to the constitution, enlargement of Poland, and withdrawal of all Russian garrisons. Others favored a declaration of independence.

Temporary success.

The Russians soon marched upon Warsaw with large armies. The Polish generals failed to take advantage of opportunities offered them, and were defeated in April and May, 1831. Thousands of Poles retreated into the neutral territories of Austria and Prussia to avoid capture. The hoped-for help from France and England did not come. Conflict of policy between aristocrats and democrats resulted in shameful brutalities. Treachery even among the leaders was discovered. Within a year from the beginning of the rebellion, Russia was com-

pletely triumphant, and the dream of an independent Poland was at an end. Nicholas abolished the constitution of 1815, punished severely all leaders who did not escape to western Europe, disarmed all the people, — not even leaving scythes to the farm laborers, — enforced the use of the Russian language, and made every effort to replace the Roman Catholic church by the Greek church.

Complete failure.

For thirty years there was no further effort on the part of the Poles to reëstablish their own nation, but in 1860 they celebrated the anniversary of their revolution of 1830. One of the celebrations was broken up by Russian soldiers, and several persons killed. This, of course, irritated the people of Poland still further.

While reforms were going on in Russia, the people of Poland were looking forward to similar changes, but Alexander II seems never to have intended to give Poland independence. He was wavering in his policy, and changed governors five times within a year (1861–1862). Some of these governors were friends of the Poles and some enemies.

In 1863, the governor of Poland, intending to stop agitation, issued a secret order for levying recruits to the army. Those who were suspected of having taken part in agitations were seized in their beds and compelled to join the army. This caused the insurrection of 1863. There could be no hope of success from the beginning. Prussia, who had a Polish province of her own to subdue, forbade

The last insurrection.

Polish insurgents to cross the frontier, and made an agreement with Russia to assist in stopping any insurrection.

England, France, and Austria urged upon the Russian government leniency toward Poland, but the Russian government ignored their interference and persisted in the work of Russianizing the territory. The greatest severity was visited upon the insurgents. The Russian language was enforced upon the Polish people more strictly than ever, and the Polish language forbidden to be used even in private life. It cannot be said that Russia has yet succeeded in obliterating all Polish national aspirations. The reforms permitted by Nicholas II may possibly lead to urgent demand for others.

Genealogy of Russian Royal House since Catherine II.

PETER III.—CATHERINE II.

PAUL (1754–1801).
Reigned 1796–1801.

ALEXANDER I (1777–1825).—CONSTANTINE.—NICHOLAS I (1796–1855).
Reigned 1801–1825. Reigned 1825–1855.

ALEXANDER II (1818–1881).
Reigned 1855–1881.

ALEXANDER III (1845–1894).
Reigned 1881–1894.

NICHOLAS II (1868 ——).
Began to reign 1894.

SECTION V.

Italy, 1870-1900.

The Papal States added to Italy. — The struggle between France and Germany in 1870 directly affected nearly all the European nations. No nation outside of the chief participants was so seriously concerned as Italy. After the Kingdom of Italy had been formed in 1861, there still remained in the middle of the peninsula the States of the Church, namely, the territory over which the pope reigned as a temporal sovereign. These lands divided the Italian kingdom almost in half. It was certainly to the interest of the Kingdom of Italy to possess the whole peninsula, yet, strangely enough, the French who had helped Italy to her feet were the very ones who, by supporting the pope's temporal sovereignty with troops in Rome, were keeping Italian patriots from completely realizing their dreams.

French troops removed.

After the first defeat of the French by the Germans, the French troops were withdrawn from Rome (in August, 1870) to be used against the Germans. This left the papal government insufficiently protected from the republican agitators, who seemed likely to upset it. At the same time the Italian government was the object of attacks by radical organizations. King Victor Emmanuel could not hesitate. He must be recognized as a power in Rome or those who were endeavoring to dominate in

the Papal States would be able to break in pieces the "imperfectly compacted Italy."

The king addressed a letter of explanation * to Pope Pius IX, guaranteeing freedom to the church and independence of the Holy See in its spiritual ministry, and at the same time ordered an army to cross the frontier. Pope Pius ordered his generals to maintain a show of resistance only until the Italian army had made a breach in the wall.

Italy takes possession.

The troops of King Victor Emmanuel were received with rejoicing by the inhabitants of the Papal States and by the citizens of Rome. In order that it might not seem that force alone had added Rome to the Kingdom of Italy, the people throughout the States of the Church were allowed to express themselves by ballot. One hundred and thirty-three thousand, six hundred and eighty-one votes were recorded in favor of union with the Kingdom of Italy, and fifteen hundred and seven against it.

Thus Italy became complete. Sicily and Naples had been added by Garibaldi's expeditions to the small Kingdom of Northern Italy, formed in 1861. Venetia was added as the result of the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 brought the opportunity to finish the work. The capital of the kingdom was transferred from Florence to Rome, in July, 1871.

New Difficulties of Administration. — The new

* Full text of letter in Annual Register, 1870, pp. 275, 276.

Kingdom of Italy was confronted with difficulties so great that it seems a marvel that it has not been overwhelmed by them. The great majority of the people were very poor and ignorant. Southern Italy was terrorized by organized bands of robbers, and the occupation of the pope's temporal dominions proposed a problem the like of which no other nation has had to solve. In a remarkably successful way Italy has been working at the solution of these problems.

The pope, although submitting to the occupation of his territory, refused to recognize the Kingdom of Italy. He assumed that he was confined to the Vatican against his will, hence became the "prisoner of the Vatican" until his death (1878). His successor, Leo XIII, has adopted the same policy. It was difficult for a newly formed kingdom to provide for and protect a dethroned monarch; nevertheless the Italian parliament passed, in May, 1871, a law called the "Law of Papal Guarantees." This law declares the person of the pope to be "sacred and inviolable," and any offences against him are to be punished in the same manner as if committed against the king. He is to be accorded royal honors, to have permanent possession of certain buildings and grounds in Rome, free from taxes, to have the use of the postal and telegraph systems, and an annual allowance of a little over six hundred thousand dollars. Pius IX, of course, did not admit the right of the Italian government to arrange any conditions for him, and although enjoying the bene-

"Prisoner of the Vatican."

fit of the other portions of the law, he never availed himself of the money allowance.

Other Troubles. — In 1874 brigandage was so common in the southern part of Italy and Sicily that the prime minister, Minghetti, brought it to the attention of the public and of parliament. The Camorra, of Naples, an organized society of robbers, had been connived at under the old monarchy. The new Italy intended to tolerate no such system, and in one year captured and executed eighty of these brigands.

The Maffia of Sicily was another society which interfered with the free working of justice by protecting its members with the dagger of the assassin. So widespread and influential has this secret organization been that a member of the Chamber of Deputies was discovered to be one of the leaders.

A party called "Irredentists" or "Italianissimi" has caused the government some trouble by agitation for a union of all Italian-speaking people, that is, a seizure of *Italia irredenta* (Italy unredeemed). This, of course, would mean war with France for Corsica, Switzerland for Ticino, and Austria for Tyrol, and the Kingdom of Italy cannot afford to encourage such an undertaking.

Influence of Garibaldi. — Garibaldi was always a republican. He had gone to South America in the early part of the century to assist the Spanish colonies in their revolutions. Although he had been the chief instrument in bringing Sicily and Naples into the Kingdom of Italy, he had caused the government no little

annoyance by organizing expeditions for the capture of Rome before the time seemed ripe. He went to France after the declaration of the republic in 1870, and served for a time as a general. Declining a seat in the French Chamber of Deputies, he returned to Italy and became reconciled to the monarchy. At the personal request of Victor Emmanuel, in 1871, Garibaldi intervened to prevent a republican outbreak. In 1875 he took a seat in the national parliament in Rome. Some apprehension had been felt that he would be the occasion of a republican agitation and disturbance, but he announced that any outbreak would be displeasing to him. His purpose in coming was merely to further legislation in regard to the improvement of the navigation of the Tiber.

Policy of Victor Emmanuel. — Victor Emmanuel's firm determination to carry out the policy first announced by Cavour, — "a free church in a free state," — made him work untiringly for progress at home and recognition abroad. The development of industry was furthered in every way possible. In 1871 Mont Cenis tunnel was completed. It had been begun in 1857 by Victor Emmanuel, then King of Sardinia. Believed at that time to be an impossible undertaking, its completion opened opportunities for European commerce hitherto impossible.

In 1875 William I, Emperor of Germany, and Franz Josef, Emperor of Austria, visited Italy. The visit of Franz Josef especially marked the healing of the

enmity which had existed so long between Austria and Italy, and prepared the way for the friendliness which developed into the Triple Alliance.

Death of king and pope.

In 1878 both Victor Emmanuel and Pius IX died. The king was succeeded by his son Humbert, whose reign (1878–1900) was devoted to carrying out the plans of his father for making Italy one of the great powers of Europe.

The college of cardinals elected one of their number to succeed Pius IX. The new pope took the title of Leo XIII. He proposed to be publicly crowned in St. Peter's, but as the government could not undertake to guarantee safety from public disturbance, Leo adopted the position of his predecessor and became the "prisoner of the Vatican."

Democratic Sentiment increases. — During the latter part of the reign of Victor Emmanuel and the beginning of the reign of Humbert, there had been taking place a change in the political sentiment of the country, as shown by the elections to the Chamber of Deputies. Up to 1876, the ministry, and hence the government policy, had been controlled by the Right, or conservatives. The Left, or opposition, had at first been composed of republicans and monarchists of a democratic tendency. They, however, came to accept the monarchy and to loyally support the king, although opposed to most of the measures proposed by the ministry of the Right, who were chiefly from Northern Italy.

Crispi. — By 1876 the Left had so increased in num-

bers that it predominated, and a ministry was formed of its leaders, chiefly from Southern Italy. Since then the Left has been in power most of the time. Most prominent of the leaders of the Left has been Crispi, a Sicilian republican, born in 1819. He took part in the revolution of 1848, and supported Garibaldi in his expedition to Sicily and Naples in 1860. Later he became reconciled to the monarchy and was elected to the Italian Chamber of Deputies in 1876. In 1887 he became prime minister. He held office until 1891.

One of the marked differences between the party of the Right and the whole Left led by Crispi is in the attitude toward foreign countries. The Right, the men of the north, were the ones who favored the French alliance on account of the assistance of Napoleon III in freeing Northern Italy. The Sicilians, Neapolitans, and the Romans opposed France as the defender of the pope against the Kingdom of Italy. The Left favored a German alliance, which was completed in 1882 by the formation of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy.

The Triple Alliance. — Treaties between Germany and Austria (1879), Germany and Italy (1881), and Austria and Italy (1882), form a sort of triangular agreement for defence against France and Russia. If France should attack either Germany or Italy, she would be obliged to fight both of them. If Russia should attack Germany or Austria, she would have to fight both of them; while if France and Russia should attack any one

of the three, they would have to fight all three. Up to the present (1902) the Triple Alliance has been sufficient to maintain peace among the great powers. The burden of expense, however, has been severe for Italy. She has been obliged to maintain an army and a navy far larger than her finances would warrant, and yet her pride in maintaining her position as one of the great powers has sustained her through financial depression and poverty which would have swamped a less ambitious people. King Humbert again and again declared himself in favor of maintaining the Triple Alliance.

Poverty. — The attempt of Italy to have colonial interests in Africa in imitation of France, Germany, and England has further increased expenses and taxation. Crispi had lost the prime ministry in 1891. During the years 1891, 1892, 1893, the difficulties of the country grew so great (colonial expenses, support of army and navy, failure of crops, strikes and other labor troubles) that the nation was on the verge of disaster. It was felt that no one but Crispi could cope with the situation.

Crispi recalled.

He was recalled as prime minister at the end of 1893, and, acting more nearly as dictator than leader of a constitutional government, he succeeded in reëstablishing confidence. The year 1893 was the most trying year the Italian kingdom has passed. Crispi resigned in 1896. Several times within a few years (notably 1893 and 1897) the poverty of the laboring classes has been so great that "bread riots" have occurred. One governmental measure has partially re-

lieved this difficulty. The starving laborers were allowed by the government to go upon and cultivate the large estates of wealthy landlords, who had kept them for grazing purposes, the owners to be paid by a portion of the crop.

Although Italy has many of the severest burdens to bear, she deserves the greatest credit for what she has achieved in the face of adversity in the forty years of her national existence. King Humbert was assassinated in 1900. His son, Victor Emmanuel III, is now (1902) upon the throne. Crispi died in August, 1901.

The Legislature of Italy. — The laws are made by a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Princes of the royal house who are of age are members of the Senate. This body is further composed of an unlimited number of men over forty years of age, who are appointed by the king for life because of distinction in science, literature, or other important field of work. In 1901 there were three hundred and forty-eight senators. The deputies must be thirty years of age, and are chosen to represent the population, one for sixty-four thousand. In 1901 they numbered five hundred and eight.

SECTION VI.

Spain, 1843-1900.

Isabella assumes the Government. — The claim of Don Carlos to the Spanish throne, and the Carlist wars resulting from it, have influenced the whole Spanish his-

tory since 1833. Carlist revolutions and intrigues were liable to break out at any moment. The generals who had been successful against the Carlists immediately became the heads of political parties and strove against each other to gain and maintain power.

Espartero, who had been rewarded with the title of Duke of Victory, for his services against the Carlists, became a political leader. He was made president of the ministry in 1840 and joined the Progressists in a revolt against Christina and the Moderates for violation of the constitution of 1837. Christina fled to France in 1840, and Espartero became military dictator and regent for Isabella during her minority. In maintaining order he was forced to be severe, and roused against him an insurrection of both Moderates and Progressists. He fled to England in July, and in November, 1843, Isabella, now thirteen years old, was declared of age.

Espartero regent.

There was little change in the government after Isabella was declared of age, except that Narvaez, a Moderate general, controlled the government for several years in place of Espartero, the Progressist. Christina returned from exile, and for ten years was again head of the court life. The so-called Moderate rule of Narvaez was more nearly an absolutist rule, for in 1845 a new constitution, much like the Statute of 1834, replaced the liberal Progressist constitution of 1837. Administration was centralized and the freedom of the press curtailed. But constitu-

Narvaez minister.

tions of any kind had really very little influence, for the military dictator ruled by decree in the manner of an absolute monarch, paying little heed to any legislative body. The support of the clergy was gained for the Narvaez faction by returning to them all church property which had not been sold.

England was much disturbed over the proposed marriages of Louis Philippe's sons to Queen Isabella and her sister, Louisa. The objection of the English cabinet was so strong against what would have given France too great an influence in Spain that by arrangement between Louis Philippe and Christina, Isabella was married to her cousin, Francis of Assis, and Louisa to the Duke of Montpensier, Louis Philippe's youngest son.

Absolutist tendencies.

By 1854 the government had abandoned almost all constitutional forms. The Moderates, even Narvaez, had left it, and court and clergy were ruling almost in the manner of the absolutist Ferdinand. The tale of revolution in Spain becomes wearisome. A coalition of Moderates and Progressists obtained power from 1854 to 1856. Republicans and Carlists again appeared. Until 1868, Progressist and Moderate ministers alternated at irregular intervals, Queen Isabella always inclining in interest toward the absolutist side. The queen, by 1868, had surrounded herself with the same kind of absolutist, clerical, *camarilla* influences as had her father, Ferdinand, in 1820. Nothing less than an important revolution could be expected.

The party name "Moderates" seems an entirely improper one, for the absolutists and clericals joined it and formed really a queen's party, which, although known by the name of "Moderates," was rapidly reviving the period of the restoration of 1814. The queen's immoralities shocked public opinion, so that when a party appeared favoring a republic, it found supporters who not only wished reforms but the overthrow of the monarchy. The ministry, feeling its insecurity on account of the propagation of such opinions, began an attack on newspapers, educational institutions, and political clubs.

After a general glance over the century, one might think all Spain had been merely playing with constitutional forms. Without a close study, it is impossible to follow the rapid changes of parties, revolts, ministers, intrigues, dictatorships, etc.

Revolution of 1868. — In 1868, all political sentiment except that immediately about Queen Isabella was so opposed to clerical and absolutist government that all parties combined for the complete reorganization of the Spanish government. Commanders of navy and army headed the movement to permanently establish the principle of national sovereignty and overthrow the Bourbon dynasty. Of course it was difficult to announce a definite program, for monarchists and republicans were for a moment agreed on only one question, — that the head of the government should be influenced only by national will.

A single battle in September, 1868, showed the real

weakness of Isabella's support; people and army joined the revolutionists, and Isabella, escaping to France, took up her residence in Paris, where she has resided to the present (1902).

Isabella escapes.

All the provinces of Spain recognized the provisional government which was formed in Madrid. All parties had representatives in it, but its real leaders were Marshal Prim and Marshal or General Serrano.

It was far easier to make a combination of all parties to upset a government to which all were opposed than to agree on a new one after success. The five parties opposed to Isabella each had a plan of its own; but one difficulty was settled when the Cortes, elected in 1869 by universal suffrage, decided by a large majority for a monarchy. The constitution adopted provided for a legislature of two houses, and, what was most surprising for Spain, for freedom of all religions. All reform efforts heretofore had contemplated merely political liberty.

Isabella being out of the way, the Carlists thought their opportunity had now come, and agitated for their candidate, Carlos VII, and for "unity of faith against religious liberty." *

The Cortes began to search among the princes of Europe for a suitable candidate for the Spanish throne. Meantime, Marshal Serrano was chosen regent. Prim, as president of the ministry, was the real ruler. He offered the throne to representatives of princely houses in several countries, who

Serrano regent.

* Seignobos.

refused it. The Duke of Montpensier, who would have accepted, was objectionable as brother-in-law of Isabella and likely to reintroduce the evils of the Bourbon reign.

Isabella, realizing that her own return would be impossible, abdicated, in 1870, in favor of her son Alphonso. No attention was paid by the Spaniards, at the time, to this abdication, but later, after the experiments of monarchy under a king from the House of Savoy, and a republic, Alphonso was considered.

Prim offered the crown, in 1870, to Leopold of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, who had refused it the year before. His acceptance, although almost instantly withdrawn, was the immediate occasion of the most important changes in Europe. Spain was little affected by the acceptance or refusal, but the discussion between France and Prussia concerning the candidacy brought on the Franco-Prussian War and consequently the establishment of the French Republic and the German Empire.

The Election of Amadeo. — By the autumn of 1870, seven of the eight * candidates for the Spanish throne had refused the honor or were regarded unavailable. There remained only Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, second son of King Victor Emmanuel. By one hundred and ninety-one votes out of three hundred and eleven in the Cortes, Amadeo was elected constitutional king of Spain, November 16, 1870.

Tangled Web of Broken Parties. — The young king

* (1) Grandson of Don Carlos: (2) Alphonso, son of Isabella; (3) Leopold of Hohenzollern; (4) Amadeo of Italy; (5) Duke of Montpensier; (6) Prince Ferdinand of Portugal; (7) Espartero; (8) Duke of Seville.

had a task before him which might have well alarmed an older and more experienced statesman. Political parties and subdivisions of parties were so numerous that none of them could long hold office, and no settled policy could be adopted. Amadeo and his queen were both respected and loved for their personal qualities by those who knew them intimately, but the majority regarded them as foreigners and intruders.

Amadeo labored manfully to show the people that he had their interest at heart, and that he was determined to be a constitutional king. Insurrections by Carlists and republicans, and contention for office by different factions, prevented any real progress. When his ministers, in 1872, felt that there was no hope, and advised the king to declare the kingdom under martial law and to rule by force of the army, he positively refused to violate the constitution, which he regarded as an agreement between the people and himself. He called a new ministry which proved as incapable of satisfying factions as the previous one. Becoming convinced that a temporary despotism was the only way of maintaining order, and determined himself not to assume the rôle of a despot, he resigned the crown a little over two years after he had accepted it, February, 1873.

Amadeo abdicates.

Spanish Republic. — After receiving the king's message of abdication, the Cortes voted for a republic by a much larger majority than had elected Amadeo. But the declaration of a republic was not sufficient to satisfy

even the republicans. There were two main divisions of republicans, one in favor of a centralized government, the other for a federal republic, composed of states. The federalists were divided among themselves as to whether the states should be the old historic provinces or subdivisions of them.

Presidents and ministries changed rapidly, like scenes in a play. A few weeks were enough to convince any of them of the impossibility of successful civil government. Those of the federalists favoring the smallest subdivisions, failing to gain the majority of the Cortes, started an insurrection in the southern cities.

Castelar president.

The most distinguished president during this unstable period was Emilio Castelar. He held office from September, 1873, to January, 1874. He was no sooner in power than he discovered that he could not maintain himself on theories of a federative republic. He was obliged, for the time, to resort to the usual Spanish "device," — a military dictatorship. The Carlists were in arms in the north, and communes were set up in the south.

Serrano president.

During his brief presidency Castelar brought order out of the chaos. He was obliged to suspend constitutional liberties and use the army against his former political allies. On January 2, 1874, after refusing the offer of General Pavia to drive out the Cortes, he resigned. Pavia expelled the Cortes with his soldiers, and the army was again in full control of the government, with Marshal Serrano in-

stalled as head of the executive power. A success was soon gained over the Communists in the south, and then Serrano himself led the army against the Carlists. The latter were guilty of great barbarities, and when a German newspaper correspondent was shot, Bismarck influenced the European powers to discountenance the Carlists and recognize Serrano's government.

King Alphonso XII. — A few months later, at the end of December, 1874, Gen. Martinez Campos, in Murviedro, proclaimed the son of the deposed Queen Isabella as king, under the title of Alphonso XII. The army declared for the king; Serrano accepted the situation and resigned, and a ministerial regency was formed under Cáñovas del Castillo.

Alphonso (born 1857) arrived in Madrid January 14, 1875. The first two years of his reign were occupied in subduing the Carlists and conciliating the clergy, most of whom had supported the Carlists.

In May, 1876, a new constitution was adopted by the Cortes, which established Spain as a liberal constitutional monarchy. Besides the Carlist war, the government had to contend with a revolt in Cuba, which had been in progress since 1868. In 1876, Gen. Martinez Campos was sent to Cuba. In 1878, the revolt was ended and General Campos returned to Spain to advocate reform and a policy of justice toward the colony. If his advice had been immediately followed, it is possible that Spain would have saved a war with the United States and the loss of Cuba.

Cuban revolt.

Alphonso married his cousin Mercedes, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier, in 1878. She died in the same year, and in 1879 the king married Maria Christina, an Austrian archduchess. Alphonso died in 1885, leaving two daughters. Maria Christina was appointed queen regent.

Infant King. — Alphonso XIII, son of Alphonso XII, was born a few months after his father's death. Possibly the fact that royal authority was in the hands of a woman and a child has had something to do with the comparative quiet in Spain for a few years. Insurrections have not occurred as often as formerly and military pronunciamentos have ceased. The great number of parties seem to have consolidated into five, but the strength has remained with two, the Conservative and Liberal, which have alternated in holding office during the minority of Alphonso XIII and the regency of his mother. Cáñovas has been the chief of the Conservatives, and Sagasta of the Liberals.

In 1898, Spain became engaged in war with the United States over difficulties caused by a new insurrection in Cuba. In this war Spain lost her colonies in the West Indies and off the Asiatic coast. While this may seem to be a severe loss, Spain will no doubt be able to prosper more at home, by turning her attention to the development of her own resources.

Alphonso XIII, sixteen years old, was declared of age and assumed the government in July, 1902.

SECTION VII.

Austria-Hungary, 1867-1900.

Austria becomes Modern. — Until 1848 Austria retained the manners and public opinions of the ancient régime. In the revolution of that year Metternich was overthrown and Franz Josef, the present emperor, began his reign. All that is modern in the government of Austria, then, is no older than the reign of the present monarch. Throughout the nineteenth century, race has become a recognized basis of nationality, and upon this principle the two new states, Italy and Germany, have been organized, but the discussion of the race question in the Austrian Empire has tended rather to rend it asunder.

After the Austrian armies were defeated by Napoleon III in 1859, in the war which established Italy, several political experiments were tried in Austria with little success because the different races could not agree. The great crisis for Austria came in 1866, with its defeat by Prussia. Austria was sadly humbled, and Franz Josef felt that if he would regain his standing in Europe he must join in the modern political movements and thus find means of contenting his subjects. Since 1867 Austria has endeavored to be a modern state.

Dual Monarchy formed. — Since 1848 Hungary had fretted as a conquered state. The attempt of Austria to govern all the states in the empire by the gen-

eral Reichsrath had failed partially because Hungary absolutely refused to send delegates to it unless the Hungarian constitution of 1848 should be recognized. As this would mean independence and personal union, the Austrian government announced that the "continuity of the Hungarian Kingdom" had been forfeited by revolution; but, after the Prussian cannon, in 1866, had awakened the Austrian conscience, Franz Josef called to his assistance Baron Beust, who had been a minister of the King of Saxony. Beust was not the equal of Bismarck in organization, but he was better than any minister Franz Josef could find in his own dominions, and it was not long before the whole government was placed upon a satisfactory basis.

By the imperial rescript of 1867 the Hungarian constitution of 1848 was restored, and Franz Josef went to the Hungarian capital to be crowned as a Hungarian king.

The dual monarchy thus established has been held together by the "Ausgleich," which was to have been renewed every ten years. The renewal was accomplished the first and second times without serious difficulty, but the renewal which should have been made in 1897 has not taken place in 1902. Hungary is independent, and has her own parliament. For the rest of the empire there is a parliament, called the "Reichsrath," at Vienna. While the term "Hungary" means essentially one state, "Austria" does not mean a country, as the term is ordinarily used. The official description of

what is usually meant by Austria, or the western part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, is "the kingdoms and lands represented in the Reichsrath"; that is, all the territory which was left over after Hungary was taken out of the Austrian Empire in 1867. Some idea of the number of distinct races in this part of the empire may be gained from the fact that on the assembling of the parliament the oath is administered to members in eight different languages. Yet these include only a small part of the tongues and dialects spoken in the land.*

The result of this diversity upon the government is to give the emperor great power in critical times. Ordinarily the powers of the emperor, according to the constitution, would be similar to those of other constitutional monarchs, but he has the right, in cases of urgent necessity, to issue ordinances which, with the signature of the ministers, have the force of laws when the legislature is not in session.

When the Congress of Berlin gave Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria, a dispute arose between Austria and

* POPULATION, 1890.

Germans	8,461,580
Czechs	5,472,871
Poles	3,719,232
Ruthenians	3,105,221
Slowenians	1,176,672
Italians	675,305
Croats and Serbs	644,926
Roumanians	209,110
Others	430,496
	23,895,413

Hungary as to which state they should belong. To avoid difficulty they were declared to be imperial territory rather than the property of any state.

Language Question. — The most serious difficulty which has arisen within the empire is an outgrowth of the number of languages and nationalities in the empire. An order was issued by the ministers of the interior and of justice in 1880, requiring officials in Bohemia and Moravia to make use of the language of the parties with whom they were to deal. This order resulted in the dismissal of German officers who could not speak the Czechish language, and stirred up an attack upon the German language. Feeling became so strong that not only was the language itself attacked, but outrages were committed against individuals.

The Bohemians began to revive the demand for home rule which had been made in 1871. Nothing serious came of this disturbance, but the language question came up again in 1897 and brought the empire as near to dissolution as it has ever been since 1848. At that time Badeni, the prime minister, in order to obtain a majority, made a trade with the Czechish members of the Reichsrath. A decree was issued, making the Czechish the official language in Bohemia. This insured Badeni his majority, but it angered the Germans in Austria.

The period for the renewal of the "Ausgleich" was at hand, and the majority could pass it, but the German minority determined to obstruct all business until the

obnoxious language decree should be put aside. A scene resulted in the legislative body which was disgraceful in the extreme, but the minority triumphed, for the "Ausgleich" has as yet failed to pass. It has been renewed from time to time by imperial decree.

In March, 1898, a new ministry, under Count Thun Hohenstein, tried to restore order by appealing to the patriotism of the members of the Reichsrath, but no progress was made in legislation, and the wrangling continued until all the parties temporarily dropped the contest to join in the celebration of the emperor's jubilee. An exhibition was opened in Vienna on the 8th of May, 1898, and general rejoicing and fêtes through May and June amply testified to the personal popularity of the emperor. But the contest was renewed again in July.

Emperor's jubilee.

In Hungary nearly the same conditions existed. Obstruction, fights, and duels prevented the progress of legislation until practically the method of decree was adopted to extend the "Ausgleich."

Centrifugal Forces of the Empire. — The Czechs in Bohemia, the Poles in Galicia, the Slavs of Moravia, feel that they have as much right to autonomy as Hungary. In 1868 the Czechs stated their claims and expressed the opinion that Bohemia should hold a personal relation to Austria, that is, the emperor should be king in both. The emperor, who had but recently granted the similar demands of the Hungarians, replied, giving them permission to formulate their demands.

They drew up a list in the form of a constitution, which was named "Fundamental Articles of 1871." If these had been accepted by the emperor, Bohemia would have held the same relation to the empire as Hungary. Doubtless this would have encouraged other states to make similar demands, but Franz Josef had been warned by some of his own ministers, and probably by Bismarck and William I, that such steps would lead to the breaking up of the monarchy, so nothing further was done in the way of Bohemian independence.

Large power of emperor.

On account of the incessant quarrels between the different races, which are too hostile to combine, while no one of them is strong enough to compel the obedience of the others, the emperor is often left to make use of the constitutional provision for decrees. Theoretically there is a parliamentary system in the empire, but practically the emperor has more often been the ruler than the servant of the constitution.

There seems to be good evidence that the large bodies of officials are fully as much influenced by bribery as by party politics. Government officers have declared that *trinkgeld* or tips were commonly received by every one, from servants to members of the cabinet.

The powers of the police in Austria are unusually great, especially in regard to associations. The meetings of societies, and even the societies themselves, may be

broken up by the police at any time, if anything is done outside of the purposes stated in the organization of the society. The constitution declares that individuals have a right to express their own opinions, and that there shall be no censorship of the press, yet certain laws provide that a license must be obtained to carry on the business of printing, and that every number of a periodical must be inspected by the police before publication. The administration of this law sometimes leads to absurdity as well as injustice.

Corruption and despotism.

Reform Bill. — In spite of the difficulties of the empire, some progress has been made in parliamentary reform. In 1896 a bill was passed which established general suffrage, as demanded by the working classes, providing for the election of a body of seventy-two members to be added to the four existing sections of the Reichsrath.

Three hundred and fifty-three members are sent to the Reichsrath by the privileged classes, numbering about two million voters, and seventy-two members by the working classes, numbering over five million voters. Voters must be twenty-four years of age.

At the end of the nineteenth century it is impossible to consider the government of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a stable one. The whole history of the country is contradictory. Austria has often been defeated in war, yet has gained more territory than was lost. The empire is separated into fragments, yet is held to-

gether, in a sense, by disunion, for there are not enough of the discordant elements willing to unite to accomplish a revolution. Everything depends upon the personal popularity of the emperor, Franz Josef, and the future hangs in the scale until the personal character of the next emperor shall be determined.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SMALLER EUROPEAN NATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

The Eastern Question and the Balkan States.

Interference in Turkish Affairs. — In European politics the problems which arise in connection with the Ottoman Turks have been classed under one name, — "The Eastern Question." This name seems first to have been used in 1831 in connection with the revolt of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, against the sultan. Ever since the Greek war for independence, the Western powers, as well as Russia, have felt at liberty to take part in Turkish affairs, and every time there has been a revolt in any Turkish province the Eastern Question has acquired new importance. Much of this importance has been ascribed to English jealousy of Russia's increasing power, and within a few years Russia's advance upon the Persian and Afghan frontiers has been assumed by English writers to be included in the Eastern Question.

England, Russia, and France interfered in behalf of Greece in 1827, and because of that interference Turkey lost Greece. A war between Russia and Turkey in

1828–1829 resulted in Roumania being placed under the protection of Russia.

Revolt of Egypt, 1831. — In return for his services against the Greeks, Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, demanded Damascus. He invaded Syria and defeated several armies of the sultan, and seemed about to reach Constantinople itself. Russia offered help to Turkey to protect Constantinople, but now England and France made haste to settle the Dutch-Belgian question, which had been occupying them, and advised the sultan to cede territory to his rebellious vassal rather than accept help from Russia (1833).

Again, in 1839, Mehemet Ali rebelled, and to prevent Russia once more interfering, England, Austria, and Prussia announced that they would consider the Eastern Question. Russia later joined the Western powers, to avoid being left out of any share in the settlement. An agreement by England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia was reached in 1840, to which France later assented. This gave the hereditary pashalic of Egypt to Mehemet Ali.

Treaty of Paris. — The next occasion for interference in Turkish affairs by the powers was the dispute between the Greek and Latin Christians in Palestine, which brought about the Crimean War. Russia having been defeated, the Treaty of Paris prohibited her maintaining more ships on the Black Sea than Turkey, and compelled her to renounce the protectorate over Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. This protectorate was to be assumed by the great powers acting jointly.

While France and Prussia were at war, in 1870, Russia publicly announced that she would no longer be bound by the terms of the treaty of Paris, and a conference of the powers in 1871, France not being represented, gave Russia increased influence in Asia.

Relying upon the weakness of France after her defeat by Prussia, Russia gained much influence over the Turkish government.

Russo-Turkish War. — When the Christians of Herzegovina revolted in 1875, the Eastern Question was again opened. Notes from the powers demanding of the sultan that he keep his former promises were unavailing, and, the Disraeli ministry of England being unwilling to coerce Turkey, Russia alone assumed the responsibility, and engaged in war with Turkey (1877–1878). The Turks were defeated, and peace was concluded at San Stefano in March, 1878. According to this, Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were to be enlarged and made independent; Bulgaria to be made a principality, and Bosnia given autonomy. All of this was not exactly pleasing to the Western powers, especially England, and a European congress was held at Berlin, where ambassadors from Russia, Germany, Austria, England, France, Italy, and Turkey met to rearrange the Peace of San Stefano. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be occupied by Austria; Bulgaria was to be divided, and part of it restored to the sultan; eastern Roumelia to be made an autonomous province, and the northern part of Bulgaria to be left as before, — of that the prince elected should

be approved by the sultan. England received Cyprus, and the navigation of the Danube was to be free and Russian fortresses thereon destroyed.

Revolution in Roumelia. — In 1885 the Eastern Question was again brought to the front by revolution in Roumelia. The provincial assembly there desired Roumelia to be united with Bulgaria. Prince Alexander of Bulgaria agreed to the union and took the title of Prince of the two Bulgarias. The great powers, referring to the treaty of Berlin, refused to recognize the new state, but went no further than to make a protest. The Turkish government appointed Alexander governor of Roumelia, thus effecting a compromise.

Armenian massacres.

The Armenian massacres in 1895 reopened the Eastern Question, but for want of agreement among the powers nothing was done to chastise Turkey. The last occasion of discussing this never-ending question was when war occurred between Greece and Turkey, in 1897, over the rights of the island of Crete.

States of Southeast Europe Affected by Treaty of Berlin.

Bosnia and Herzegovina were provinces of Turkey until the Berlin Congress (1878) gave them to Austria-Hungary.

Servia was subject to Turkey after 1459, until an effective insurrection began in 1815. Fighting continued until 1829, when Turkey was forced to grant vir-

tual independence, which, as in the case of other states, was not formally recognized until the treaty of Berlin.

MONTENEGRO asserted its independence of Turkey in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and for a long time actually maintained it by the help of Russia. But the independence was not formally recognized by Turkey and the other powers until the Congress of Berlin, in 1878.

ROUMANIA is the name of the union formed of Moldavia and Wallachia. These provinces proclaimed their independence in the early part of the nineteenth century and fought for it in 1821, as did the Greeks; but it had to wait, as other states, for Turkey to recognize the independence under compulsion of the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Roumania was proclaimed a kingdom in 1881.

TURKEY, the state in Europe which causes, directly and indirectly, a great deal of trouble for all other states, is governed by a sultan, who is descended from the founder of the Ottoman Empire and is twenty-eighth in line from the conqueror of Constantinople. There have been constitutions issued similar to those of other European states, but the conditions of the empire, political and social, are such that they have not been put into execution, nor are they likely to be in the immediate future. The active head of the government is the grand vizier, who corresponds to prime minister in England or France. He is assisted by a council which corresponds to the cabinet in one of the western countries.

BULGARIA was created a principality under the sov-

ereignty of the Sultan of Turkey by the Congress of Berlin. Prince Alexander of Battenberg was elected Prince of Bulgaria and assumed the government in the summer of 1879. He abdicated in 1886, and the National Assembly elected Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg in the following year. The great powers and the sultan did not confirm the election until 1896.

CRETE is an autonomous state under the sovereignty of the sultan, but pays no tribute. Crete had been frequently in insurrection until, in 1897, the insurgents proclaimed union with Greece. The Greeks sent assistance to Crete and thus brought on war with Turkey. The four powers, Great Britain, Russia, France, and Italy, intervened to force upon Turkey the present form of government for Crete. Prince George, second son of the king of Greece, was appointed high commissioner for three years, in 1898. His appointment was renewed in 1901.

SECTION II.

Norway and Sweden.

Sweden to 1810. — Up to the nineteenth century the three Scandinavian states, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, had similar histories. Their language, religion, and general conditions were essentially the same. In 1808, Russia conquered Sweden and took possession of Finland. The people of Sweden, feeling the weakness of their king, imposed upon him a "form of govern-

ment," or constitution, in 1809. The king, having no children, adopted Bernadotte, a French general, as crown prince in 1810. Bernadotte became at once the actual ruler, and soon joined the allies against France.

Norway in 1814. — Denmark and Norway were both ruled by the King of Denmark, who remained allied with France. As reward for his support against Napoleon, England and Russia promised Norway to Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden. Napoleon was overthrown, and to make good the promise the coast of Norway was bombarded by British men-of-war, and the Norwegians were handed over to Sweden. The Norwegian Diet, which had made a constitution in May, 1814, elected the Swedish king, Charles XIII, as King of Norway on the condition that he should accept the constitution. The two nations were to remain separate as to constitution and government but to have the same sovereign and foreign relations.

The two kingdoms have developed along different lines, although recognizing the same king.

Constitution and Reforms of Sweden. — Bernadotte became Charles XIV* John in 1818. He ruled according to the constitution of 1809, gaining for himself popularity and the credit of being a wise ruler. In 1840, the Council of State, which had been a great check upon the king's power, was changed into a ministry similar to those of other constitutional countries, each officer being the head of a department. Religious freedom was established in 1858. Heretofore only

* The fourteenth Charles but the first John. Hence the numerals between the names.

members of the established church (Lutheran) were eligible to office. By other reforms introduced between 1860 and 1866 the Diet, or Riksdag, became more completely representative of all the people. It is composed of two chambers. Both members and voters for them must comply with certain property qualifications, which are greater for the First Chamber. Members of the First Chamber are elected for a term of nine years, and receive no pay for their services. Members of the Second Chamber hold office for three years and receive compensation.

The Kings. — Charles XIV John died in 1844 and was succeeded by his son Oscar (1844–1859). His son Oscar, called Charles XV, reigned from 1859 to 1872, and was succeeded by his brother, the present king, Oscar II. The Bernadotte dynasty has thoroughly identified itself with Swedish interests, and possesses the confidence and affection of the people.

Political Life of Norway. — The most democratic conditions in Europe since 1814 have existed in Norway. After the separation from Denmark there remained in Norway very few of the nobility. Society was composed almost entirely of peasants, merchants, seamen, and the professional classes. Although the government retained the form of a monarchy, the king was a foreigner and came to Norway only when the Assembly (Storthing) was in session. The Storthing is chosen as a regular body by indirect election. Although there is a property qualification for voters, it is very

low. The Storthing, elected for three years, divides itself into chambers of one fourth and three fourths of its members respectively. A Council of State is the executive power, as the king resides in Sweden.

The first king of the dual state (Sweden-Norway) was in continual conflict with the Norwegians over the civil list, over the abolition of nobility, over the veto, right of dissolving the chambers, appointing officers, etc. But finally the king yielded to the Norwegian sentiment in most of these matters. The two succeeding kings reigned without conflict with the Storthing, but with the accession of Oscar II in 1872 there began a great conflict for reform of the constitution which is perhaps not yet ended.

Reform agitation.

Up to 1872 the chief efforts of the democratic party had been to restrict the government by limiting expenses. After that time it endeavored to force the king to choose his ministers from the majority in the Storthing and to permit ministers to sit in the Storthing. From 1872 to 1884 there was open conflict between the Storthing and the king, which was waged in a constitutional manner, although at one time there was danger of force being used on both sides. The result has been that since 1884 Norway has been governed under the parliamentary system, with a ministry "responsible" to the Storthing.

A new radical group of the democratic party, under the lead of the novelist Björnsterne Björnson, has con-

tinued the struggle against the king, which has widened to a conflict between Norwegians and Swedes. The legislatures of both countries voted military appropriations in 1895, and in 1896 the Storthing directed the removal of the emblem of union from the flag of Norway. In 1899 this act was passed for the third time over the veto of the king, and became law according to the constitution.

The Storthing has been trying for several years to obtain for Norway a separate consular and diplomatic service, but has so far been unsuccessful.

Section III.

Denmark.

Condition since 1814. — After the loss of Norway in 1814, the Danish monarchy included the small peninsula and islands separating the Baltic from the North Sea, and Iceland. In the southern part of the peninsula were the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg. The government of Denmark has, since 1814, passed through all the stages from eighteenth-century despotism to the constitutional form prevailing at the end of the nineteenth century.

Four kings have occupied the throne, and each of them has been engaged in conflicts over constitutional reforms. Most of these conflicts were of little interest to the rest of Europe, but from 1848 to 1863 the internal difficulties over Schleswig and Holstein brought about European

complications of the greatest importance. Frederick VI (1808–1839) and Christian VIII (1839–1848) each made promises looking toward constitutionalism, but failed to accomplish anything satisfactory to the people. Frederick VII (1848–1863) was engaged through his whole reign in difficulties internal and external, growing out of the Schleswig-Holstein question. Christian IX (1863——) inherited the same troubles, but was soon relieved by the loss of the duchies. The trials and conflicts of Denmark since 1864 have been domestic.

Schleswig-Holstein Question. — The Schleswig-Holstein question would scarcely of itself have been of European importance, but it involved not only Denmark and the duchies themselves but the leadership of Prussia in Germany, and, as a consequence, the establishment of the German Empire. The King of Denmark was sovereign of the duchies as duke. After the Congress of Vienna, Holstein and Lauenburg were included in the German Confederation, but not Schleswig. The population of the three duchies was German, with the exception of that in the northern part of Schleswig, yet they were united to a nation speaking a different language and having a different internal government. Schleswig and Holstein were declared to be indissolubly united, yet Holstein belonged to a foreign confederation.

The right of succession in Denmark belonged to both males and females, while in Holstein it belonged only to males. In the other duchies there was doubt about it. Frederick VII had no heir, hence when he should die

the question of succession would arise. In this complication there arose two parties, the German, which desired both Schleswig and Holstein to be separated from Denmark, and the Danish, which would incorporate both indissolubly with Denmark. The conflict, amounting several times to war, lasted until 1863; then when Christian IX came to the throne, inheriting through the female line, the conflict became so violent that Prussia and Austria, taking the part of the Germans, solved the difficulty for Denmark by war and forcibly taking possession of the duchies.

Constitution and Government. — Denmark is governed under a constitution which began as a charter in 1849 and has been modified and altered in 1855, 1863, and received its present form and royal approval in 1866. The legislative power rests in the Rigsdag and the king. The Rigsdag is composed of two chambers, the upper called the "Landsthing," the lower the "Folkething." The king appoints twelve members of the upper house, the remainder are chosen by indirect election for eight years. The one hundred and fourteen members of the lower house are chosen for three years by universal suffrage, the franchise being limited to male citizens thirty years of age. Citizens over twenty-five years old are eligible to the lower house. The king and eight responsible ministers are the executive power.

The political parties in Denmark are divided on the question of the supremacy of the Folkething. The Right, or conservatives, hold that the constitution does

not give the lower house the right to decide who shall be the ministers, while the Left favor a system similar to that in England and France, where the ministry must change in accordance with the majority in the lower house of the legislature.

The contest has been active, and at times almost violent, from 1873 to the present. As yet, however, it may be said that the Left has not made good its claims, although at times it has had a majority.

SECTION IV.

The Netherlands (Holland).

Union of Holland and Belgium. — The Kingdom of Holland had been annexed to France during the later years of the French Empire (1810–1814). In the rearrangement of European territory by the Congress of Vienna, what had been the Kingdom of Holland and what, before the French Revolution, had been the Austrian Netherlands and the Bishopric of Liége were joined as the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The former stadtholder of the Dutch Republic returned and took the title William I. The purpose of uniting these territories into one state was that it might serve as a barrier against France.

Although there had seemed to be many reasons why this union might be advantageous to both the Dutch and Belgian Netherlands, the conditions favored the Dutch rather than the Belgians. The great conflict

which resulted in the establishment of the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth century was fought by the supporters of the Protestant and Catholic forms of religion.

Religious differences.

Catholic Belgium and Protestant Holland had been separate since the latter part of the sixteenth century. Now, in 1814, they were brought together again, but in such a manner that all the differences were accented and little effort made for reconciliation.

A constitution was prepared which did not satisfy the Belgians, but the king, by rejecting the votes of those

Political disagreements.

who opposed it for religious reasons, declared it adopted. Other causes for Belgian discontent were, that the seat of government was in Holland, a great majority of office holders were Dutch, less than one sixth of the military officers were Belgians. In the legislative body, Belgium, with about two thirds of the population of the whole kingdom, had equal representation with Holland. The Belgians were forced to assume part of the Dutch debt and submit to the Dutch system of taxation. Other reasons existed for discontent of the Belgians, so when Paris broke out in revolution against the tyranny of Charles X in July, 1830, affairs were ripe for a similar movement in Belgium.

Brussels, the Belgian capital, began a revolution in the latter part of August, 1830. When it was too late the king offered to make concessions, but the Belgians were determined to have a separate government and

their own king. No offer of separate government under one king could alter their enthusiasm for complete independence. A few military engagements took place, and in October the Belgian provisional government declared that Belgium constituted an independent state.

Revolt of Belgium.

Holland since 1830. — The political history of the Kingdom of the Netherlands since the loss of Belgium contains little of general interest. The same personal government of the king which had displeased the Belgians continued until William I abdicated, in 1840, and afterward under his son, William II, until 1848. In that year of democratic agitation all over Europe, a revised constitution was adopted by the States-General which the king convoked.

According to this constitution the upper chamber was to be elected by the provincial estates instead of being appointed by the king, and the lower chamber elected directly by taxpayers. The powers of the lower chamber were much increased, and the cabinet ministers made responsible to the States-General.

Since political life really began, the parties in the Netherlands have been divided on religious lines and have occupied themselves largely in discussions concerning the public schools. Colonial policy, military service, and extension of the franchise have also caused party agitation. By an electoral reform act passed in 1896, male citizens twenty-five years of age who possess certain specified signs of

Electoral reform.

capacity and property are voters. Since the reconstruction of the kingdom by the Congress of Vienna (1815), there have been four sovereigns of the Netherlands: William I, who abdicated in 1840; William II, his son, who died in 1849; William III, son of William II, who reigned forty-one years, and died in 1890, and was suc-

The Dam in Amsterdam, Holland, September 6, 1898.
As Queen Wilhelmina passed from the palace to the church for coronation ceremonies.

ceeded by his daughter, Wilhelmina, the present queen. She was, at the time of her accession, ten years old. She married Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in 1901. Her formal inauguration took place in Amsterdam with elaborate ceremonies, September 6, 1898.

SECTION V.

Belgium.

Belgium since 1830. — A Belgian congress was called to make a constitution and choose a king. The choice fell on the Duke of Nemours, son of Louis Philippe. Other candidates receiving votes were the Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugène Beauharnais, and Archduke Charles of Austria. King Louis Philippe refused to approve the choice of his son, and later, at the suggestion of the English and French governments, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was chosen king by the congress. Leopold had been candidate for the throne of Greece, and his first wife, who died in 1817, was the daughter of George IV of England. He married (1832) the daughter of Louis Philippe. Their son, the present king of Belgium, was born in 1835 and became king at the death of his father in 1865.

The relations between Holland and Belgium were not settled finally until 1839. King William would not give up Belgium, and he had the sympathy of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, while France and England favored the claims of the Belgians. A conference of delegates from the five powers met in London and determined upon a settlement of the whole question. William refused to accept the decision of the London conference, and began war in 1831. A French army came to the assistance of King Leopold, and successfully resisted the Dutch (1831–1832).

The parties in Belgium which had united to secure independence did not live long in harmony. The leading political parties during its whole political history have been the Clericals and the Liberals. Bitter and energetic strife has been maintained between them. For over fifty years they have alternated in having control of the government, the sum of the various periods of power being about equal for the two.

Conflict of parties.

The government, according to the Constitution of 1831, is declared to be constitutional, representative, and hereditary. Up to 1893 the constitution remained unchanged, and practically only two parties were known. As a result of a revision of the constitution in 1893, which introduced plural voting, the Liberals have broken up, and the Clerical party is now opposed by more radical parties, known as Socialist and Progressist.

The results of plural voting have been watched with interest by other nations. According to this system, in addition to the one vote belonging to a man of twenty-five years, he may add votes for being thirty-five years old, married and the father of a family, or by being possessed of property of a certain value, or by having an education of a specified standard; but no citizen may have more than three votes. Undoubtedly the intent of those favoring this system was to neutralize any evil effects of universal suffrage by increasing the number of votes of citizens who have a special interest in maintaining public order.

Plural voting.

As a result of this system the Clericals obtained large majorities in the legislative bodies. In order to neutralize this Clerical advantage, the opposition parties proposed proportional representation, which was carried in December, 1899. This sends to the legislature representatives of the various parties in proportion to the number of votes cast in an election in any city or district, instead of the whole number of delegates from that district belonging to the party casting the majority of votes.* The Socialists gained in the elections of 1900 as a result of the new law. Parliamentary debates have frequently become violent, and labor troubles have greatly agitated all classes, so that Belgium has recently been close to a revolutionary condition.

Proportional representation.

Colonial Enterprise. — Leopold II has endeavored to secure possession of colonies for Belgium, to which her excess population may emigrate, and increase the production and commerce. In 1876 he founded the International African Association, composed of committees in England, Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium. Leopold himself became president of the Belgian committee. By his great contributions of money, and maintenance of explorers in the Congo district of Africa, the Congo Free State has been established. Although it is not strictly a Belgian colony, King Leopold is sovereign of the state, and it thus holds the relation of personal

* For very good description of plural voting and proportional representation see International Year Book for 1900, page 119.

union to Belgium until the death of Leopold, when by his will it is to become the property of the Belgian nation.

Section VI.

Greece.

The Revolution. — In the wave of revolution which swept over Europe about 1820, Greece was concerned also, although the movement in Greece had not direct relation with others, as, for instance, Spain and Italy were related. Greece had been under the dominion of Turkey for nearly four hundred years. The Greeks had been treated by the Turks rather as slaves than as ordinary subjects. Any Turk felt at liberty to punish and even take the life of any Greek who displeased him. Although the Greek blood had not been maintained in its purity, the Greeks of the nineteenth century had retained their memory of ancient greatness and independence, and felt an ambition to once again make the name of Greece honored. The language of the modern Greeks and many of their customs are more nearly like those of the ancient Greeks than it has been common to suppose. This is true in the islands more than on the mainland.

The Greeks are essentially a maritime people, and many of the merchants grew rich and sent their sons to Germany and France for education. These, upon their return, interested themselves to accomplish for Greece

what was being accomplished in western Europe in the way of liberal and independent government. Somewhat similar to the Burschenschaft in Germany and the Carbonari in Italy, there was in Greece a secret society called the "Hetoeria." This society increased its numbers very rapidly. Distinguished Greeks, as well as the young men, became members of it.

The Hetoeria.

The Turkish government at this time was unable to defend itself against frequent rebellions of provincial governors. In 1820, the rebellion of Ali Pasha of Janina, in what had once been Western Greece, gave an excellent opportunity for the Greeks. The best Turkish troops were employed in fighting Ali Pasha, so that the Greeks could have no better opportunity to attempt to throw off the Turkish yoke. Alexander Ypsilanti was a member of a Greek family resident in Constantinople and had been a Russian general. He was also head of the Hetoeria. From his interest in both Greece and Russia it was thought that, if he should head the revolt, Alexander of Russia might take sides with the Greeks and assist them to independence. Ypsilanti, however, was not sure that Russia would lend her assistance, and when he sought to unite all the Christians of the northern provinces of Turkey, in 1821, he was easily overcome and forced to retreat into Austrian territory, where he was kept a prisoner. In Morea, ancient Peloponnesus, the rebellion was well started at the same time.

To retaliate for this rebellion in Greece, the Turks murdered large numbers of the Greek aristocracy living in Constantinople, and the aged Greek patriarch was seized and hung at his own door. Other priests and bishops were assassinated. The Greek Christians were murdered and plundered in various cities of the Turkish Empire. These atrocities stirred the Russians, who regarded themselves as protectors of Greek Catholics.

By 1822 the Greeks were so successful in southern and western Greece that Turkish garrisons in many towns were defeated and driven out. In this year a national assembly of Greeks met, proposed a constitution, and established a government with Maurokordatos as president. The whole war beween Greece and Turkey, which progressed in an irregular way for about ten years, was rather a series of depredations of one party upon the other than open warfare.

Massacre in Chios.

The Turks descended with a large fleet upon the little island of Chios, which had a population of about one hundred thousand industrious Greeks, burned their cities, and killed or enslaved nearly all of the inhabitants. After having published an amnesty, the Turks fell upon the people in the country and murdered them in the most barbarous way. Forty-seven thousand were said to have been offered as slaves in the markets of Constantinople, Alexandria, and other Turkish cities. The Greeks, in revenge for this, collected a fleet and succeeded in destroying by fire the fleet of the Turks.

In 1822, the Turks, having conquered the rebellious Ali, were able to throw the greatest force against the Greeks, and their case seemed hopeless. They appealed to the Congress of Verona for assistance, but the members of this congress were, as heretofore, quite thoroughly under the influence of Metternich. Alexander of Russia, who would naturally have been inclined to support those of his own faith, was induced by Metternich to see in the Greeks nothing but ordinary rebels and to give them no assistance.

Aid from England and France.

Had it not been for the interest of many people in England and France, the cause of Greece could have made little progress, for the Greeks themselves were divided, and, notwithstanding the bravery of individual leaders here and there, the lack of union was nearly fatal to the Greek cause. Volunteers from France and England gave their services to Greece, a large sum of money was sent from England, and Lord Byron came, but died before he could give any important assistance.

The government of Turkey called upon Mehemet Ali of Egypt to assist in conquering the Greeks. This vassal of the Porte was really a dangerous rival to the sultan himself, but there seemed little hope, without his assistance, of overcoming the rebellion in Greece. An Egyptian fleet landed troops in Crete, where murder and fire soon subdued the inhabitants. In 1824, with an increased number of ships, Ibrahim Pasha landed an

Egyptian force in the Morea with the intention of depopulating the whole territory.

Alexander of Russia died in December, 1825, and his brother Nicholas, who succeeded him as emperor, was too strong a character to be controlled by Metternich. He plainly showed the intention of interfering in Grecian affairs, and England, perhaps from jealousy of Russia gaining too much power in the Turkish dominion, signed an agreement with him to demand a cessation of hostilities between Turkey and Greece. When the sultan resisted their interference a formal alliance was made between England, France, and Russia, in 1827, to compel peace, and the allied fleet moved into Grecian waters. At Navarino it came into conflict with the Turkish and Egyptian fleet and completely destroyed it.

Russia helps.

The Egyptians had committed so many atrocities that the civilized nations were overjoyed at the victory of Navarino. Ibrahim had not only caused inhabitants to be massacred and villages to be burned, but fig-trees and olive-trees by the thousands had been cut down, thus ruining the possibility of prosperity for many years.

Canning, the prime minister of England, who had formed the alliance to assist Greece, died at this time, and the Duke of Wellington, who succeeded him, was not favorable to the further assistance of Greece, chiefly because it would seem to be favorable to Russian influence.

Before the battle of Navarino the Greek government

had shown itself so weak that it seemed impossible to accomplish much without the assistance of foreign advisers. At the suggestion of Lord Cochrane, an English admiral, Kapodistrias, a Greek who had been one of the Russian emperor's secretaries, was appointed president of Greece for seven years. His experience in Russia had led him to believe in absolutism, so that his presidency in Greece was too severe to be satisfactory. He opposed the propagation of all free ideas, and used the methods of Metternich in making himself supreme. The alliance of the three powers, Russia, France, and England, determined, in 1829, that a monarchy would be best for Greece, and offered the throne to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had been the husband of Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV. Perhaps because there was some possibility of his becoming regent for his niece Victoria in England, but more likely because the boundaries of Greece were to be too narrow, he refused the crown. But Kapodistrias' government could not be endured much longer.

Weakness of Greek government.

In 1831 he was murdered, and the conference of the powers at London again named a king. Prince Otho, son of Ludwig of Bavaria, accepted the crown and went to Greece in 1833. For two years his government was administered by a regency, as the king was not of age. The Greeks were too unsettled and had been too long at war to accept quietly the reign of the new king.

King Otho.

An insurrection in 1843 compelled Otho to grant a representative constitution. The Greeks, still unsatisfied, dreamed of a restoration of the old empire, with the Greek capital at Constantinople, and when the Crimean War commenced they hoped to join Russia and defeat Turkey. They were held in check by a force of French and English which landed in Greece in 1854 and remained until 1857. The humiliation of the Greeks under this foreign occupation still further weakened the influence of Otho. A provisional government was formed in Athens in 1862, which announced the dethronement of the king. The Greeks then (1863) chose Prince George of Glücksburg as their king. He was the son of Christian, who became king of Denmark in November of the same year.

King George.

The Ionian islands were added to Greece at the accession of King George, as he had made this a condition of his acceptance of the crown. The Congress of Berlin recommended that Thessaly and Epirus be added to the territory of Greece, but Turkey paid no attention to the suggestion as it was not backed by force. It was not until 1881, when war was about to begin, that Turkey consented to a settlement which granted Thessaly to Greece but refused Epirus.

With her enlarged boundaries, the Greek nation has been reasonably contented and prosperous. Modern European life is thoroughly established, commerce and agriculture have increased, and the educational system has been well developed.

Greece became involved in war with Turkey in 1897 because of furnishing assistance to the rebellious Cretans, who desired their island to be annexed to Greece. From March to September the war continued, chiefly to the disadvantage of Greece. The powers intervened, and peace was concluded which gave autonomy to Crete and compelled Greece to pay a war indemnity to Turkey.

SECTION VII.

Switzerland.

French Interference. — The history and development of modern democratic government might be studied by following the conflicts and constitutional changes in each of the cantons of Switzerland, but local history of one of the smallest European states can scarcely be considered in a brief sketch.

The French Revolution affected Switzerland quite as profoundly as Italy, Holland, and Belgium. Before 1798 Switzerland was merely a league of little states, each sovereign in itself. When the French invaded in 1798, the Helvetian Republic was formed, modeled after the French Republic. But few of the Swiss people favored the unity and equality of the new régime, and civil wars began which continued until 1803. Napoleon then interfered, and by his Act of Mediation required each canton to adopt a constitution containing the French principles, and, until his downfall in 1814, he maintained a sort of guardianship over the Swiss nation.

The Federal Pact. — When the armies of the coalition entered Switzerland, those in favor of the old régime endeavored to reëstablish the eighteenth century system and the old league. Czar Alexander was opposed to such a restoration, and a diet, representing twenty-two cantons (three new ones were taken from the French), met and drew up a new constitution, called the "Federal Pact," which was completed in August, 1815. It was ratified by the powers, which also guaranteed the neutrality of Switzerland. The Federal Pact differed but little from the Act of Mediation. The cantons were sovereign and retained all power which they did not distinctly confer on the confederation. There was little national life. Each canton determined for itself its church establishment and educational system. One canton prohibited Protestant services, another allowed no Catholic worship. The clergy had great power, even in those cantons where religious toleration existed.

From 1829 to 1847 there occurred a series of political agitations and civil wars, which brought about changes from local to national political life. A democratic party began to appear in 1829, which grew rapidly after the French Revolution of 1830. This party demanded revision of the aristocratic cantonal constitutions. Several of the cantons changed their constitutions peaceably. Others had such conflict that the federal government was obliged to intervene to restore order. Seven of the most progressive

Revision demanded.

cantons formed a league called the "Siebener Concordat," for mutual protection against aristocratic reaction and to favor a revised and strengthened federal constitution. Another league of six cantons was formed to maintain the aristocratic local system and oppose a strong central government.

There were many local conflicts in the cantons, amounting in several instances to petty civil wars, over various questions, more often religious than otherwise. By 1845 the agitation had become so general that the seven Catholic cantons formed a "Sonderbund" (a separate union), to defend themselves as one body in case any one of them should be attacked. The Radicals in the Diet demanded that the Sonderbund be dissolved. They succeeded soon in getting a majority to so decide. The members of the Sonderbund withdrew their delegates from the Diet and prepared to fight. In a three weeks' war the Diet triumphed and the democratic party (a centralizing lay policy as opposed to a local sectarian policy) obtained the control in Switzerland. The Radicals now proceeded to propose a new constitution which should organize a federal state.

New Constitution. — Under the federal constitution of 1848 none but republican governments could exist. The Bundesstat (Federal State) was formed out of the loose federation of states (Staatenbund) and a citizen of one canton possessed civil rights everywhere in Switzerland. Heretofore he enjoyed no rights outside of his own canton. Many of the provisions of the consti-

tution tended to emphasize the national as opposed to the cantonal idea, and since 1848 political life in Switzerland has not led to strife and war but to amendment of the constitution. Since that time, also, Berne has been the federal capital and the seat of the general government. The constitution now in force superseded that of 1848 in 1874.

The development of democracy in Switzerland has led to the adoption of two unique features of constitutional life which have been watched with great interest by other nations. These are the "referendum" and the "initiative." The latter was extended to include right of proposing amendments to the constitution in 1891.

Upon the petition of thirty thousand citizens, or the demand of eight cantons, a measure passed by the legislature must be submitted to popular vote. This is the "referendum." While it was introduced as a democratic measure, it has actually worked in a conservative direction. Out of one hundred and seven bills passed by the Federal Council in the twelve years after 1874, nineteen were submitted to the referendum and but six of them passed by the voters. The same conservative tendency has been apparent in subsequent years.

Referendum.

On the petition of cantonal voters the federal legislature is compelled to consider any matter thus presented. The cantonal legislature is compelled to do the same in local affairs on petition of fifty thousand. Thus

the people have the power by the "initiative" to compel the discussion of any matter. The people have not made use of the right of initiative as often as might have been anticipated; some democratic propositions have not received the necessary fifty thousand signatures to the petition. It appears from the working of both referendum and initiative that the people are more conservative than their delegates in the legislature.

Initiative.

Section VIII.

Portugal in the Nineteenth Century.

Abandoned by King. — The history of Portugal has been remarkably similar to that of Spain for more than a century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the monarch was controlled as in Spain by a *camarilla*. There was no representation of the people, and church influence was very great.

When the French armies invaded Portugal, in 1807, to enforce the continental system, the royal family, instead of offering resistance, fled to Brazil. No effort was made to return until 1821. Meantime an English force came to oppose the French, and Portugal, after the fall of Napoleon, was governed by Beresford, an English general, nominally as regent for Queen Maria, who was in Brazil. Beresford's rule was hated as despotic by the Portuguese. When John VI became king in 1816, he attempted to govern Portugal from Brazil, instead of

governing the colony from the mother country. This, added to Beresford's unpopularity, caused a military conspiracy, and, when Spain set the example of revolution, Beresford left for Brazil to consult the king. Portugal rose in rebellion, and, following the example of Spain, convoked a Cortes to adopt a constitution. Beresford, upon his return, was not allowed to land, and John, leaving his eldest son, Dom Pedro, as viceroy in Brazil, returned to Portugal, where he was compelled to sign the democratic constitution. His queen, Carlotta, and her second son, Miguel, did everything in their power to upset constitutional government. John finally succeeded, by invoking the popular support, in having Miguel banished.

King returns.

Brazil was separated from the mother country in 1825, and Dom Pedro became emperor, while John agreed that Brazil and Portugal should never again be united.

At John's death, in 1826, the constitutional party looked to Dom Pedro, and the absolutist party to Miguel. As John's agreement prevented Dom Pedro being ruler of both countries, he proclaimed his daughter, Maria da Gloria, queen of Portugal. Miguel was to be lieutenant of the kingdom and future husband of the queen. Miguel little deserved such confidence. He usurped the throne and treated all the constitutionalists brutally.

Dom Pedro abdicated as emperor of Brazil in 1830, and returned to Europe. He obtained assistance from England, and in 1833 entered the capital and established his daughter as queen, where she should have been seven

years before. Another year of fighting was necessary to dispose of Miguel. The quadruple alliance, France, England, Spain, Portugal, formed to drive Carlos from Spain and Miguel from Portugal, defeated and banished the latter in 1834. Portugal had been the scene of constant strife, political and military, for nearly thirty years.

Usurper defeated.

Pedro, as regent for his daughter, restored the constitution. At his death (1834) his daughter was declared of age, although she was but fifteen years old. In 1836 she married Prince Ferdinand of Coburg. Until the death of Maria da Gloria, in 1853, there continued to be the most violent party strife over constitutional questions. No one in Portugal, from throne to populace, understood the working of a parliamentary government. By 1852, however, their conflicts seem to have taught them wisdom, and the constitution was revised in such a manner that all parties ceased their agitation, and an era of peaceable constitutional life was begun which endured to 1889.

Maria da Gloria queen.

The queen's husband, Ferdinand, called Ferdinand II, acted as regent from 1853 until his eldest son, Pedro, became of age.

Pedro died in 1861, and his brother Luiz succeeded him and reigned peaceably until 1889. The revolution which occurred that year in Brazil, overturning the empire of Dom Pedro II and establishing a republic, had a disturbing influence in Portugal. The new king, Don

Carlos, son of Luiz, began his reign amidst republican agitation and financial embarrassments and trouble arising from colonial claims in Africa. No more serious troubles have occurred, however, than occasional cabinet crises.

Carlos king.

In 1898 Portugal announced neutrality regarding the war between the United States and Spain, but showed such active sympathy for Spain that the United States government was compelled to request the strict observance of neutrality. In general, however, Portugal has maintained neutrality in European affairs.

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY.

1789 May 5, opening of the States-General.
June 17, Third Estate declares itself the National Assembly.
July 14, capture of the Bastille.
August 4, abolition of privileges.
October 6, royal family brought to Paris.
1791 June, royal family arrested at Varennes.
1792 June 20, mob invades the Tuileries.
August 10, fall of the monarchy.
September 2–5, massacre of prisoners in Paris.
September 21, republic established by Convention.
1793 January 21, Louis XVI beheaded.
May 31, Reign of Terror begins.
1794 July, fall of Robespierre and end of the Terror.
1795 November 1, the Directory chosen.
1799 November 10, coup d'état of Bonaparte.
1804 December 2, Napoleon crowned emperor.
1807 December 17, Milan Decree against British commerce.
1809 December 16, divorce of Emperor and Josephine decreed.
1810 April 1, marriage of Napoleon and Maria Louisa.
1812 October, retreat of French army from Russia.
1813 October 16–18, Napoleon defeated at Leipsic.
1814 March 31, Paris surrendered to allies.
April 4, abdication of Napoleon.
May 3, Louis XVIII arrives in Paris.
June 4, French constitution granted.
1815 March, Napoleon returns.
June 18, Napoleon defeated at Waterloo.
1816 May 15, constitution in Saxe-Weimar.
1817 October 18, Germany, meeting on the Wartburg, increasing reaction.
1818 May 26, constitution in Bavaria.

1818 August 22, constitution in Baden.
September 29 to November 21, Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1819 March 23, Germany, murder of Kotzebue.
August 6, Congress of Carlsbad and Carlsbad decrees.
August 16, England, massacre of Peterloo.
September 25, constitution in Wurttemberg.
1820 January 1, revolution in Spain.
January 29, England, George III died, George IV king.
February 13, France, assassination of Duke of Berry.
October 20, Congress of Troppau.
December 17, constitution in Hesse-Darmstadt.
1821 January 6, Congress of Laibach.
April, rebellion in Greece.
May 5, Napoleon I died in St. Helena.
1822 October, Congress of Verona.
1823 April 7, French army enters Spain.
October 1, Cadiz surrenders, Spanish revolution suppressed.
1824 April 15, Greece, death of Lord Byron.
1825 January 1, England recognizes independence of Spanish colonies in South America.
November 15, Brazil, separation from Portugal, Pedro I emperor.
December 1, Russia, Alexander I died, Nicholas emperor.
1827 October 20, Greece, battle of Navarino.
1828 February 4, Greece, Kapodistrias president.
April 28, Russia declares war on Porte.
June 26, Portugal, usurpation of Dom Miguel.
1829 April 13, England, Roman Catholic Emancipation.
September 14, Peace of Adrianople.
1830 England, George IV died, William IV king.
July 25, France, Charles X issues five ordinances.
August 8, France, Louis Philippe king.
August 25, Belgium, revolution in Brussels.
1831 February 2, rebellion in Modena and Parma.
March 1, England, Reform Bill introduced.
July 21, Belgium, Leopold I king.
1832 March 8, Prince Otho of Bavaria chosen king of Greece.
1833 September 29, Spain, Ferdinand VII died, Isabella queen, Don Carlos pretender.

1834 April 22, quadruple alliance of England, France, Spain, and Portugal.
1836 October 30, France, Louis Napoleon in Strasburg.
1837 June 18, Spain, Christina accepts constitution.
June 20, England, William IV died, Victoria queen.
1840 June 7, Prussia, Frederick William III died, Frederick William IV king.
August 6, France, Louis Napoleon at Boulogne.
1843 August 8, Spain, Isabella proclaimed of age.
1846 June 26, England, Corn Laws repealed.
1848 February 8, Italy, constitution in Sardinia.
February 24, France, Louis Philippe abdicates.
February 27, France, republic proclaimed.
March 13, revolution in Austria.
March 31, Germany, preliminary Parliament.
May 18, Germany, National Assembly meets in Frankfort.
July 25, Italy, battle of Custozza.
November 15, Italy, Rossi murdered, revolution in Rome.
December 2, Austria, Ferdinand abdicates, Franz Josef emperor.
December 20, France, Louis Napoleon president.
1849 March 23, Italy, battle of Novara, Charles Albert abdicates, Victor Emmanuel II king of Sardinia.
1850 February 6, Prussia, constitution.
1851 December 2, France, Napoleon's coup d'état.
1852 December 2, France, Napoleon III emperor.
1853 November 1, Russia declares war on Turkey.
1854 March 12, alliance of Turkey with Western Powers.
1855 September 8, Sebastopol taken.
1856 March 30, Peace of Paris.
1857 May 9, India, Sepoy rebellion.
1859 June 4, Italy, battle of Magenta.
June 14, battle of Solferino.
July 8, Italy, truce of Villafranca.
November 10, Italy, Peace of Zurich.
1860 May 6, Italy, Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition.
1861 January 2, Prussia, Frederick William IV died, William I king.
March 14, Victor Emmanuel king of Italy.
1863 December 7, German Diet votes execution in Holstein.

1865 August 14, Austria and Prussia, Gastein Convention.
1866 July 3, Austria and Prussia, battle at Sadowa.
August 23, Austria and Prussia, Peace of Prague.
1867 April 17, North-German Constitution adopted.
June 8, Hungary, coronation of Franz Josef.
December 21, Austria, new constitution, Dual Empire.
1870 July 2, Spain, Leopold of Hohenzollern chosen king.
July 19, France declares war on Prussia.
September 2, France, emperor and army capitulate.
September 4, France, fall of the empire.
September 20, Italians enter Rome.
November 16, Spain, Amadeo chosen king.
1871 January 18, German Empire proclaimed.
January 28, France, Paris capitulates.
February 12, France, National Assembly in Bordeaux.
March 18, France, Commune established in Paris.
May 28, France, Commune suppressed.
August 31, France, Thiers president.
1877 April 24, Russia declares war on Turkey.
1878 January 9, Italy, Victor Emmanuel II died, Humbert king.
June 13 to July 13, Berlin Congress.
1881 March 13, Russia, assassination of Alexander II, Alexander III emperor.
1884 Electoral reform in England.
1885 November 25, Spain, death of Alphonso XII and accession of Alphonso XIII.
1887 Celebration of Victoria's fiftieth year of rule.
1888 March 9, Germany, death of William I and accession of Frederick III.
June 15, Germany, death of Frederick III and accession of William II.
1890 Germany, international labor conference.
1894 Gladstone's Home Rule Bill defeated in House of Lords.
Russia, death of Alexander III and accession of Nicholas II.
1895 Germany, June, Kiel canal opened.
Armenian massacres.
1896 Alliance between France and Russia.
Electoral Reform Bill in Austria.

1897 Celebration of Victoria's sixtieth year of rule.
Trouble in Austria-Hungary over the Ausgleich.
Greco-Turkish war.
1898 Spanish-American war.
1899 Hague, Peace Conference.
Norway removes emblem of union with Sweden from flag.
1899–1902 Boer war.

INDEX.

A. PAGE.

Aboukir, battle of 105
"Acte Additionelle" 149
Act of Mediation, the 431
Act of Union, demand for its repeal . 193
Agassiz, sketch of 312
Albert, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, marries Victoria 297
Alexander of Battenberg 410
  governor of Roumelia 410
  abdicates 410
Alexander I opens ports to British, invites war with France 129
  and Napoleon 123, 130
  arbiter of Europe 146
  reign of 364
  opposes liberalism 364
  inclined to suppress Greece 427
  dies 428
Alexander II succeeds Nicholas I . . 367
  his policy 367
  assassinated 370
Alexander III succeeds Alexander II in Russia 370
  his policy 370
Alexander Ypsilanti. See *Ypsilanti.*
Algeria 322
  French expedition to 156
  effect on France 167
Ali Mehemet. See *Mehemet.*
Ali Pasha of Janina, rebellion of . . 425
  conquered 427
Alphonso XII proclaimed king . . . 395
  marries 396
Alphonso XIII becomes king 396
Alsace ceded to Germany 255
  and Lorraine 337, 347
Amandeo, Duke of Aosta, elected king of Spain 392
  abdicates 393
Amiens, Peace of 116

PAGE.

Ancients, Council of 89
  moves to St. Cloud 110
Angoulême, Duke of 151, 227
Annam, French protectorate over . . 323
Archduke John of Austria elected administrator of Germany 271
Arçola 98
Armenian massacres 408
Army of France repels coalition . 86 *seq.*
  invades Italy . . . . . 96 *seq.*
Arnold, Thomas, sketch of 309
Arras 70
Arthur Young. See *Young.*
Articles, Fundamental, of 1871 . . . 402
Artois, Count of 26, 39, 151
  leads Ultras 153
  becomes King Charles X 154
Ashley, Lord, and factory legislation . 297
Asiatic cholera sweeps over Italy . . 221
Assembly, Legislative. See *Legislative Assembly.*
Assembly, National. See *National Assembly.*
Assembly of German States 271
Assembly of Norway. See *Storthing.*
Assignats issued 23
  depreciated 84, 94
Augereau 101
Augustenberg, Duke of, heir to Schleswig and Holstein 275
Ausgleich 398
Austerlitz 121
Australian ballot 355
Austria 96, 102, 106
  triumphs in Italy 116
  puts down liberal movement in Italy 165
  1848, revolution in 259
  loses Italian possessions 264

PAGE.

Austria becomes Austro-Hungarian Empire 267
meaning of the name 398
Autocratic Empire 241

B.

Babeuf 94
Baden receives constitution 175
democratic agitation in 270
allies with Prussia 335
Badeni, prime minister of Austria, and the language question 400
Balaklava, battle of 302
Balzac, sketch of 307
Barère 62
Barras appoints Bonaparte 91
director 92, 100, 103, 108
resigns 111
Barthélemy 100, 102
Basle, peace of 87
Bastille 17
Batavian Republic 87, 107
becomes kingdom of Holland . . . 124
"Battle of the Nations" 134
Bautzen 133
Bavaria 138
receives constitution 175
allies with Prussia 335
Bazaine, Marshal, shut up at Metz . 250
Beaconsfield, Lord. See *Disraeli*.
Beauharnais, Eugène 124
Belgium ceded to France 99
given to Holland 139
united with Holland 417
religious differences with Holland . 418
revolution in 418
declared independence 419
since 1830 421
relations with Holland settled . . . 421
Bell, Henry, first steamboat in England 292
Beresford governs Portugal 435
leaves for Brazil 436
attempts to return 436
Berlin, Congress of. See *Congress*.
Berlin decree 124
Bernadotte adopted crown prince of Sweden 411
promised Norway 411
becomes Charles XIV John 411
Berry, Duke of 152, 154, 162
Berthollet 104

PAGE.

Beust, Baron, minister of Franz Josef 398
"Bill of Pains and Penalties" . . . 190
Bismarck foils Napoleon III 247
in Prussian Landtag, etc. 273
Prussian embassador 273
president of Cabinet 274
plans breaking up German Confederation 278
announces German Empire 335
influence in German Empire . . . 338
dismissed 343
tariff plan of 347
and the Spanish Carlists 395
Björnsterne Björnson leads Morruegian democrats 413
"Board schools" 354
Boer Question 359
Bohemia, revolutionary movement in 260
suppressed 263
revives demand for home rule . . . 400
Bologna, liberal government in . . . 216
Bonaparte defends Convention . . . 91
commands army of Italy 96
success of . . . . . 96 *seq.*
makes treaty with Austria 102
returns to Paris 103
in Egypt 104
returns to France 105
coup d'état of . . . . . 110 *seq.*
invades Italy 116
attempted assassination of 116
code of Napoleon 117
consul for life 118
emperor 119
proposed invasion of England . . 121
invades Russia 131
in Spain 127
marries 128
abdicates 134
returns 149
overthrown 150
body brought to France 166
Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon, 166, 167, 238, 241
Bordeaux, Duke of 162, 165
Bordeaux Assembly 313
ratifies peace with Germany . . . 315
its three items of business 315
continues to control affairs 315
"Bordereau" 327
Bosnia given to Austria 399
intended autonomy 407
to be occupied by Austria 407
Bouillé 26
Boulanger . . . . . 324 *seq.*
tried 326
suicide of 326

PAGE.

Boulogne, expedition of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte 167
Bourgeoisie 10
"Bread Constitution" 85
Brienne, minister of finance 6
his fall 7
Bright, John, and the Corn Laws . . 299
Brissot 28
Brougham, Lord, on education . . . 294
Brumaire, coup d'état of 113
Brunswick 125
constitution of 177
Brunswick, Duke of, issues manifesto . 39
Bulgaria to become a principality . . 407
to be divided 407
sketch of 409
Bundesrath 350
Bundesstat, the 433
Buonaparte. See *Bonaparte.*
Burschenschaft 174
abolished 176
Byron, sketch of 308
volunteers to aid Greece 427

C.

Calendar reconstructed 63
Calonne, minister of finance 5
Camarilla 223
controls Portuguese government . . 435
Cambridge, Duke of 190
Camille Desmoulins 39
guillotined 68
Campo-Formio, treaty of 102
Campos, Gen. Martinez, proclaims Alphonso king 395
puts down Cuban revolt 395
Canino, Prince of, radical at Rome . 282
Canova, sketch of 311
Cáñovas del Castillo ministerial regency 395
chief of conservative 396
Cantu, sketch of 311
Caprivi, Count, states the German policy 344
"Carbonari" 207, 425
Carignano. See *Charles Albert.*
Carlists wars . . . . . 233, 387 *seq.*
Carlos 230, 234

PAGE.

Carlotta tries to overthrow constitutional government 436
Carlsbad Decrees 176
Carnot 87, 92, 100, 102
president of France 325
Caroline, Princess, wife of George IV 189
comes to England 190
death of 191
Carrier 70
tried . . . . . 81 *seq.*
Castelar, Emilio, President of Spain . 394
Castillo. See *Cáñovas.*
Catherine II and the partition of Poland 373
Catherine Théot 74
Catholic Association 192
Catholic Center 338
Catholics, Roman, disabilities removed 191
Cavaignac 238
Cavour punished for liberal opinions . 220
leads Italian movement . . . 220, 244
prime minister 285
assists in Crimean War 285
"Central Committee of National Guard" 256
Certificates of citizenship 63
Chambord, Count of 240
favored for emperor 313
efforts in favor of 317
Charcoal burners 207
Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano . 211
regent 213
proclaims Spanish constitution . . 213
leaves Turin 213
King of Piedmont 221
leads Northern Italy against Austria 283
abdicates 283
Charles Felix 211
Charles IV of Spain abdicates 126
resigns in favor of Napoleon . 127, 223
Charles X becomes king of France . 154
changes ministry 155
dismisses chamber 155
decrees of 157
yields to revolutionists 160
abdicates 162
Charles XIII of Sweden elected King of Norway 411
Charles XIV John of Sweden. See *Bernadotte.*
Charles XV of Sweden. See *Oscar.*
Charlotte Corday 57

PAGE.

Charlotte, Princess 189
Charter. See *Constitutional Charter.*
Chartists 295
Chaumette 65
Children in English factories 200
Chios, massacre in 426
Christian VIII of Denmark and the Schleswig-Holstein question . . 275
Christian IX of Glücksburg 276
King of Denmark 276
accedes to constitution 276
Christians in Palestine and the Crimean War 406
protectorate given to the powers . 406
Christina, Regent of Spain 230
flees to France 234
returns 234
and the Carlists 388
flees to France 388
returns 388
Christinos 231
Church of St. Denis 67
Cisalpine Republic 98, 99, 107
offers crown to Napoleon 124
Clarkson 200
Clergy 9
civil constitution of 24
massacred 45
decrees against repealed 84
reëstablished worship 116
education in hands of 154
Clerical party in Belgium 422
Clichy, Club of 100
Clubs, origin 25
abandoned 95
Clugny, minister of finance 4
Coalition, New, against France . . . 106
Cobden, Richard, organizer of Anti-Corn Law League 299
Code of Napoleon 117
Convention. See *National Convention.*
Commissioners of Convention . . . 69, 71
Committee of General Safety 81
Committee of Public Safety appointed 62
becomes predominant 65
attacks Commune 66, 69
Robespierre and 74
attacked by Robespierre 76
reorganized 81
members attacked 81
Commune 69, 77, 79, 84, 93, 253

PAGE.

Commune described . . . . . 58*n.*
carry cannon to Montmartre . . . 256
seize the city government 256
Comte, sketch of 307
Concordat 117
Confederation of the Rhine collapsed 134
Congo Free State 423
Congress of Berlin 356
at close of Russo-Turkish War . . 407
Congress of Monarchs at Laibach . . 209
Congress of Verona. See *Verona.*
Congress of Vienna 137, 150
gives Warsaw to Russia 364
Conservative supersedes Tory in England 305
Constantine, heir of Alexander I . . 365
Constantinople threatened by Mehemet Ali 406
offered protection by Russia . . . 406
Constitution of 1791 29
Constitution of 1793 85
Constitution of 1795 89
Constitution of 1812 224
Constitution of 1837 233
Constitution of Third Republic of France . . . . . 317 *seq.*
Constitutional Charter 148
Consulate established 113
Continental system 124
Convention establishes worship of Reason 66
Convention of Gastein. See *Gastein.*
Corn Laws 298
repealed 299
Corporation Act repealed 192
Cortes 224, 232
Corvée 11
Cossacks 132
Council of Ancients. See *Ancients.*
Council of Five Hundred. See *Five Hundred.*
Count of Artois 26, 39
Count of Paris. See *Paris.*
Count of Provence 26
Cousin, sketch of 307
Couthon 71, 73, 75, 78, 79
Crete, sketch of 410
Crimean War 243
interests of each participant . 300, 406

PAGE.

Criminal Law, reforms in 203
Crispi, liberal leader in Italy . . 384 *seq.*
becomes prime minister 385
loses prime ministry 386
recalled 386
resigned 386
died 387
Crystal Palace 300
Cuba revolts 395
second insurrection 396
Customs Union 182
Cyprus ceded to England 356
received by England 408
Czech becomes official language of Bohemia 400
struggle for autonomy 401

D.

Daguerre, sketch of 308
Daniel O'Connell goes to Parliament 192
Danton . . . . . 39, 44, 47 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*
guillotined 68
Danube opened to free navigation . . 408
Darwin, sketch of 309
Decazes 153
Declaration of Pilnitz 28
Delaunay 18
Denmark war with German Confederations and Prussia 276
second war 277
changes in government 414
Departments, formation of 23
Deputies. See *National Convention.*
Deputies, Chamber of 148, 153
increased powers 245
Derby, Lord, prime minister 352
Déroulède 324, 329
banished 330
Desmoulins. See *Camille Desmoulins.*
Destroying Angel, Society of the . . 230
Deutsche Bund 140, 173
Dickens, sketch of 309
Diet of Frankfort 140, 173
liberal revival and 178
Diet of German Confederation . . . 271
Diet of Sweden. See *Riksdag.*
Directory 89
meets 94
opposed by royalists 99
coup d'état of 101
at height of power 106

PAGE.

Directory annuls elections 107
collapse of 108
Disraeli, prime minister 304
change of party 304
introduces reform 352
dissolves Parliament 353
again prime minister 356
becomes Lord Beaconsfield 356
foreign policy of 356
his ministry in Turkish war . . . 407
Dom Pedro, viceroy in Brazil 436
becomes Emperor 436
abdicates 436
regent for daughter 437
restores constitution 437
dies 437
Dom Pedro II succeeds Ferdinand II . 437
Don Carlos claim to Spanish throne . 387
Don Carlos, son of Luiz, succeeds his father as king of Portugal . . 437
Dreyfus affair, the . . . . . 327 *seq.*
Ducos, Roger 108
Duke of Brunswick issues manifesto . 39
Duke of Orleans 160, 168
Duke of Reichstadt. See *Reichstadt.*
Duke of Victory. See *Espartero.*
Dumouriez 58
Dutch-Belgian question settled by France and England 406

E.

Earl Gray. See *Gray.*
East India Company 303
Eastern Question, the 302, 405
considered by England, Austria, and Prussia 406
again opened 407
brought forward by Armenian massacres 408
again in war with Greece 408
Education in England 293
Egypt, French expedition to 104
revolt in . . . . . 405 *seq.*
English and French power in . . . 359
Elba 118, 134
Emigrants . 26, 88, 100, 102, 106, 116, 154
Empire revived in France 240
Empress of India. See *Victoria.*
England . . 60, 87, 88, 96, 102, 106, 118
education in 293
in revolutionary and Napoleonic era 187
plans for insurrection in 188
reform 188

PAGE.

England, criminal law and parliamentary reform 191
Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover . 181
Espartero 234
regent 234
gains title of Duke of Victory . . . 388
president of ministry 388
flees to England 388
"Estate of Nobles" 184
Etruria 126
Eugène Beauharnais. See *Beauharnais.*
Eugenie, Empress, regent of France . 250
flees to England 252
Eylau, battle of 123

F.

Factory legislation in England . . . 296
Faraday, sketch of 309
Fashoda 328
Faubourgs 84
attack Convention 85, 86
Federal Pact, the 432
"Federalist" party of Austria . . . 264
Fenians . . . . . 352 *seq.*
Ferdinand I of Austria succeeds Francis 186
Ferdinand of Coburg marries Queen of Portugal 437
called Ferdinand II 437
regent 437
Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg elected Prince of Bulgaria 410
Ferdinand, Emperor of Austria, in the 1848 revolution 259
abdicates 263
Ferdinand, King of Naples during French occupation 206
grants constitution 207
hypocrisy of 208
reactionary measures 210
Ferdinand II of Naples 220
Ferdinand VII of Spain 126
restored 139, 224
returns to Spain 225
abolishes constitution, etc. 225
agrees to accept 226
calls upon French aid 227
second restoration 229
died 230
Finland, Russian treatment of . . . 372
taken by Russia 410

PAGE.

Five Hundred, Council of the . 89, 111
Folkething of Denmark 416
Fouché 151, 153
Fourier, sketch of 308
Francis marries Isabella 389
Francis II of Holy Roman Empire becomes Francis I of Austria . . 136
his influence 171
dies 186
treatment of prisoners 215
Francis of Modena, Duke, betrays liberals 216
Franco-Prussian War 247
Frankfort, Diet of 140, 173
liberal revival and 178
Frankfort, liberal outbreak in 180
Franz Josef, Emperor of Austria . . 263
favors reform 264
opens Hungarian Diet 266
begins reign 397
crowned king of Hungary 393
jubilee in honor of 401
his power 402
Frederick William II 136
Frederick William III of Prussia opposes Napoleon 122
sides with Russia against France, 133, 136
promises constitution 174
breaks promise 182
Frederick William IV of Prussia calls first assembly of Prussia 183
calls a United Diet 184
grants liberal program 269
promises Prussia to be head of government 269
elected to be emperor of the Germans 272
his brother becomes regent 273
Frederick VII of Denmark issues constitution to Schleswig-Holstein . 276
dies 276
Frederick III of Germany 342
Friedland, battle of 123
Fructidor, coup d'état of 101
Fry, Elizabeth 203
Fundamental Articles of 1871 402

G.

Gabelle 11
Gambetta proclaims republic 252
leaves Paris in a balloon 254
famous phrase of 319
career of . . . . . 320 *seq.*

PAGE.

Garibaldi champions Italian liberty . 219
assists movement against Austria . 287
master of Sicily and Naples 289
unites Italy under Victor Emmanuel 289
Roman expedition 289
second expedition 290
influence of, in Italy . . . . . 382 *seq.*
Gastein, Convention of 278
Genoa 98, 139
George IV of England 188
George of Glücksburg, Prince, chosen king of Greece 430
German confederation 140, 173
Empire . . . . . 331 *seq.*
Gioberti, sketch of 311
Girondists 31, 34, 39
ministers recalled 43
in the National Convention 46
attacked 49, 58
leaders arrested 59
executed 64
survivors recalled 84
become leaders 84
Gladstone, prime minister 304
change of party 304
Second Reform Bill 352
reforms in Ireland 353
prime minister 353
on army reform 355
dissolves Parliament 356
second, third, and fourth times prime minister 358
Godoy 125, 126, 223
Göttingen professors dismissed . . . 181
Government of National Defence . . 253
Gramont, Duke of, foreign minister of France 247
instrumental in bringing on Franco-Prussian War 248
Grand Duchy of Baden. See *Baden.*
Gravelotte, battle of 250
Gray, Earl, head of ministry 194
resigned 196
recalled 196
Greece gains independence 405
revolution in . . . . . 424 *seq.*
becomes a republic 429
a kingdom 429
in Crimean War 430
in war with Turkey 431
Gregory XVI, Pope 217, 221
Grévy succeeds MacMahon 320
resigns 325
Grimm brothers 183

PAGE.

Guérin 330
Guizot head of ministry 168
sketch of 307

H.

Hague Conference, the 372
Hambach festival 178
Hanover 125
receives constitution 177
separates from England 181
invaded by Prussia 279
"Happy medium" policy 164
Hapsburg 136
Haynau, General, sent against Hungary 263
Hébert 65
arrested and executed 68
Hegel, sketch of 310
Heidelberg 95
Helvetian Republic 107
formed 431
Henriot 74, 75, 78, 79
Herzegovina given to Austria . . . 399
revolt of Christians 407
occupied by Austria 407, 408
Hesse-Cassel 125
receives constitution 177
Hesse-Darmstadt receives constitution 175
Hetoeria 425
Hill, Rowland 204
Hoche 88, 95, 96
Holland incorporated into France . . 128
a kingdom 134, 139
since 1830 419
See *Netherlands.*
Holstein given to Austria 279
See *Schleswig-Holstein Question* . 415
Holy Alliance explained 171
Holy Roman Empire 135
ceased to exist 140
Home Rule questions in Ireland . . 357
Hôtel de Ville 79
House of Three Estates 184
Howard, John 203
Humbert, King of Italy 384
assassinated 387
Hundred days, the 151
Hungary, revolutionary movement in, 260, 261
subdued 263

PAGE.

Hungary, constitution forfeited . . . 264
refuses to accept new emperor 263, 265
accepts Franz Josef 266
becomes part of Austro-Hungarian Empire 267
asks for constitution 398
gains independence 398

I.

Ibrahim, Pasha, aids in subduing Greeks 427
India, Empress of. See *Victoria.*
Indian Mutiny 303
results 303
Initiative 434
Insurrection against Girondists. See *Girondists.*
Insurrection in La Vendée. See *La Vendée.*
Insurrection of Prairial . . . . . 85 *seq.*
Insurrection of Royalists 88
Insurrection, Russian 365
Insurrection of Vendémiaire 90
International African Association . . 423
"International Committee" of 1830, Revolution 215
Ionian Islands added to Greece . . . 430
Ireland, rebellious movement in . . . 295
Irish disestablishment 354
Land Act 354
Parliament ceased to exist 357
"Irredentists" 382
Isabella 230
becomes Queen of Spain 388
marriage of 389
escapes to France 391
abdicates 392
"Italianissimi" 382
Italian Republic 98
Italy invaded by French 88
revolutionary movement in 260
suppressed 263
alliance with Prussia 279
becomes a kingdom 287
effect of Franco-Prussian War on . 379
gains Papal States 380

J.

Jacobin Club, origin 26
Robespierre master of 68
defend Robespierre 77, 78
attacked 82
closed 83
supported by *faubourgs* 84

PAGE.

Jahn imprisoned 176
Jameson, Dr., invades Transvaal . . 361
Jellachich attacks Hungary 261
Ferdinand's lieutenant in Hungary, 262
Jena, battle of 122
Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia 125
flees 134
Jeunesse Dorée 82
John VI of Portugal 435
returns to Portugal 436
signs constitution 436
agrees never to unite Brazil and Portugal 436
dies 436
John, Archduke of Austria, elected administrator of Germany . . . 271
Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples . 125
King of Spain 127, 130
Joubert 109
Jourdan 95
"July Revolution," the 157
Just. See *Saint-Just.*
"Juste milieu" 164

K.

Kapodistrias, President of Greece . . 429
murdered 429
Karl Sand 175
Kaulbach, sketch of 310
Kent, Duke of 190
Kiel Canal 348
Kingdom of Italy. See *Lombardy.*
Kitchener, General, at Omdurman and Fashoda 328
Kléber 110
Königgrätz. See *Sadowa.*
Kosciusko 373
Kossuth leads Hungarian revolution 261
minister of Finance 261
dictator of Hungary 262
escaped to Turkey, etc. 263
died 263
Kotzebue 176
Kultur Kampf 339

L.

Labor Conference, International . . 344
Lafayette 16
marches to Versailles 22
disperses mob on Champ de Mars . 28

PAGE.

Lafayette demands closing of clubs . 34
presents himself before the Assembly 37
leaves the country and is imprisoned in Austria 43
threatens invasion of Paris 58
honored 155
advice sought 158
commands National Guard 160
and Louis Philippe 161
Laffitte 159, 161
head of ministry 164
resigns 165
Laibach 209
Lamartine proposes provisional government 237
"L'Ami du Peuple" 49, 55
Language question in Austrian Empire 400
Landsthing of Denmark 416
Landtag 272
Landwehr 275
Laréveillère-Lépaux 92, 100
Lauenburg. See *Schleswig-Holstein Question* 415
La Vendée, insurrection in . . 54, 60, 95
Lebon 70
tried . . . . . 81 *seq.*
Legion of Honor 117
Legislative Assembly 29
Leipsic 133
Leo XIII succeeds Pius IX 384
Léoben, peace of 99
Leopold of Hohenzollern, King of Spain 248
offered Spanish crown 392
Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, Prince, marries Princess Charlotte 190
chosen King of Belgium 421
offered crown of Greece 429
Leopold II of Belgium, colonial enterprise of 423
Lesseps, Ferdinand de, on Suez and Panama canals 326
tried and sentenced 327
Letourneur 92
Lettres de cachet 8
"Levée en masse" 62
Liberal opposition under Napoleon III 245
Liberal party in Belgium 422
Liberal supersedes Whig 305
Liberation. See *War of Liberation.*

PAGE.

Light Brigade, charge of 302
Ligurian Republic 107
Liebig, sketch of 310
Liége, bishopric of, joined to Netherlands 417
"Lit de justice" 6
Lombardy offers crown to Napoleon, 124
in revolutions of 1820 215
revolts 283
London Protocol 276
Conference 421
Lorraine. See *Alsace and Lorraine.*
Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland . 125
Louis XV dies 1
Louis XVI married 1
before the States-General 14, 15
visits Paris 19
moves to Tuileries 22
flight of 26
accepts constitution 29
uses power of veto 32
declares war 33
dismisses Girondist ministry . . . 34
visited by mob 35
leaves palace 41
suspended and sent to the Temple . 43
trial . . . . . 49 *seq.*
execution of 53
Louis XVIII king 147
leaves country 149
returns 151
dies 154
Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans . . 160
lieutenant-general of the kingdom . 161
king 162
attempted assassination of 165
abdicates 236
Louisa, sister of Isabella, marries . . 389
Lucien Bonaparte 109
Ludwig II of Bavaria offers empire to William of Prussia 335
Luiz, succeeds Pedro, King of Portugal 437
Lunéville, treaty of 116
Lutzen, battle of 133
Luxembourg 94
Lyons 59, 69

M.

MacMahon, Marshal, defeated at Sedan 250
president of French Republic . . . 317
monarchistic efforts 317

PAGE.

MacMahon resigns 320
Madagascar, relations with France . 322
Maffia of Sicily, the 382
Magenta, battle of 286
Majuba Hill, battle of 360
Malesherbes 69
Malta captured by Bonaparte 104
Mamelukes 104
Marat 39, 47, 48, 55, 58, 84
Marcel-Habert 330
Marchand, Major, in Africa 328
Marengo, battle of 116
Maria Christina marries Alphonso XII 396
appointed regent 396
Maria da Gloria 233
Queen of Portugal 436
declared of age 437
marries 437
dies 437
Marie Antoinette married 1
King's adviser 5
executed 64
Marie Louise marries Napoleon . . . 129
Marmont 158, 159
Marseilles 59, 69
Maurepas, prime minister 3
died 5
Maurokordatos, president of proposed Grecian Republic 426
"Maximum" 63
repealed 84
"May Laws" 340
Mazzini plans to free Italy 219
radical leader at Rome 282, 289
McMahon. See *MacMahon.*
Meeting of Notables. See *Notables.*
Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt . . . 405
demands Demascus 406
invades Syria 406
rebelled again 406
hereditary pashalic given to . . . 406
aids in subduing Greece 427
Melikoff, dictator of Russia 369
dismissed 370
Menotti encouraged in revolution . . 216
executed 216
Metternich, prime minister of Austria 129, 140
ruling spirit in Austria 171
against liberalism 176

PAGE.

Metternich, his influence 186
in the revolutions 186
threatens France and interferes in Italy . . . . . 217 *seq.*
escapes to England 259
causes Alexander to oppose liberalism 364
overthrown 397
influence against the Greeks . . . 427
Mexico, campaign in, attacked . 245, 246
Meyerbeer, sketch of 308
Mignet 157
Miguel 233
tries to overthrow constitutional government 436
banished 436
head of absolutists 436
to be lieutenant of kingdom and husband of queen 436
defeated 437
Milan expels Austrians 283
Mill, John Stuart, sketch of 309
Minghetti 382
Mirabeau 16
Modena crushes revolution 215
"Moderates" 390
Monarchy of July 162
Mont Cenis tunnel 383
Montenegro becomes independent . 407
short sketch of 409
Montpensier, Duke of, marries sister of Isabella 389
Moreau 95, 116
Moscow 131
"Mother of God" 4
Mountain, the 46
excites people 54
its leaders on Committee of Public Safety 62
"Municipal Committee" 159
Municipal Corporation Bill 202
Murat, King of Naples 129, 134
"Musée des Souveraines" 241

N.

Nantes 70
Naples 139
gains constitution 207
subdues Sicily 209
parliament of, meets 209
loses constitutional government . . 210
assists Charles Albert 284

PAGE.

Napoleon. See *Bonaparte.*
Napoleon II 150
Napoleon III reestablishes pope . 243, 282
becomes liberal 245, 246
surrenders at Sedan 250
dies . . . . . 252*n.*
See also *Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon.*
"Napoleon the Little" 242
Natal. See *Boer Question.*
National Assembly 14
goes to Paris 22, 255
National Convention, election of deputies 62
beginning of 46
controlled by Robespierre 69
attacks Robespierre 77
retracts 83
requires two thirds of new body from its own membership 90
defended by Napoleon 92
last work of 92
National Guard enrolled 28
offers to protect King 37
on the 10th of August 41
"Nationalist" party in France . . . 330
"National," the 157
National workshops 237
Navarez, General, controls Spanish government 388
Navarino, battle of 428
Necker, minister of finance 4, 5, 7
speech to States-General 14
Nelson 105
Nemours, Duke of, offered kingdom of Belgium 421
Netherlands, The 417
Ney protects retreat from Moscow . 133
executed 152
Nicholas I aids Austria to suppress Hungary 263
calls Turkey a "sick man" 301
comes to throne of Russia . . 365 *seq.*
his policy 366
death of 367
interference in behalf of Greece . . 428
Nicholas II becomes Czar 371
alliance with France . . . . . 371 *seq.*
peace proposal of 372
Nihilists 369
Nobility drawn from the country . . 8
massacred 45
decrees against, repealed 84
North German confederation 279

PAGE.

Norway promised to Sweden 133
ruled by King of Denmark 411
promised to Bernadotte 411
bombarded and given to Sweden . . 411
Diet elects Charles XIII of Sweden King of Norway 411
constitution of 411
political life in 412
Notables, meeting of 6
Novara, battle of 214, 283

O.

"Obstruction" policy 357
O'Connell, Daniel, goes to Parliament 192
Oldenburg 129
Olivier, Émile, prime minister of France 246
Orange Free State See *Boer Question.*
"Organizer of Victory." See *Carnot.*
Orleans, Duke of 160, 168
expelled from France 323
returns 323
leaves France 324
Orleans, Duchess of, tries to secure recognition of her son 236
Oscar, or Charles XV of Sweden . . 412
Oscar II of Sweden 412
Otho, Prince, accepts crown of Greece, 429
dethroned 430
Ottoman Turks. See *Turkey.*

P.

Panama Canal work begins 326
Pantheon, meetings at 93
Papal States taken by Italy 379
"Papal Guarantees," Law of 381
Paris entered by the powers 134
surrenders to Germans 255
besieged by French 257
Paris, Count of 236, 240
favored for Emperor in the Orleans line 313
expelled from France 323
Paris, Peace of 244, 302
Paris, Treaty of 406
repudiated by Russia 407
Parlements 5
Parnell, Charles Stewart, elected to Parliament 357
"obstruction policy" of 357

PAGE.

Parthenopean Republic 108, 125
Pasha Ali. See *Ali.*
Pasha Ibrahim. See *Ibrahim.*
"Patriots' League" 324
Peace of Paris 244, 302
Peace Proposal, the. See *Hague Conference.*
Pedro 437
Peel, his "Sliding Scale" 299
Peers, House of, in France 148
Peninsular War 130
Penny postage 204
People's Charter, the 294
Pepe, William 207
"Père Duchesne" 65
Petition of 1839 295
Petition of 1842 295
Petition of 1848 296
Philippe Égalité 160
Pichegru 95, 99
Piedmont 118, 139
  revolution in 210
  revolution defeated 214
  allies with France 286
Piedmontese 60
Pilnitz, Declaration of 28
Pius VIII, Pope, dies 217
Pius IX, Pope, reforms of 281
  leaves Rome 282
  assisted by Napoleon III 282
  returns 282
  loses Papal States . . . . . 380 *seq.*
Plural voting 422
Poland 178
  "Kingdom of Poland" 365
  improvement in government of . . 371
  partition of 373
  rebellion in . . . . . 374 *seq.*
  last insurrection in 376
Polignac 155
Poor Laws in England . . . . . 198 *seq.*
Pope's lands in Italy seized 128
  restored 139
Portugal invaded by French 125
Postal system in England 203
Prague, Treaty of 279
Prairial, Insurrection of 85
Priests. See *Clergy.*
Prim, Marshal, in Spanish Revolution 391

PAGE.

Prim, Marshal, president of ministry . 391
Prince Napoleon expelled from France 323
Prince Victor expelled from France . 323
Printers' protest 158
"Prisoner of the Vatican" 381
Progressist Party in Belgium 422
Progressists 232
  demand Constitution of 1812 . . . 233
Proportional representation 423
Provence, Count of 26
Provincial assemblies in France . . . 4
Provisional council 41
Provisional government 237, 252
Prussia 60
  makes peace with France 87
  hostile to France 122
  constitutionalism in 182
  Customs Union 182
  forms alliance with South German States 335
Pyramids, battle of 104

Q.

Quiberon 88

R.

Ranke, sketch of 309
Rattazzi 290
Reason, worship of 66
Referendum 434
Reform banquets 169
Reform Bill of Austria 403
Reform Bill of 1832 (in England) introduced 194
  passes Commons 195
  introduced a second time 196
  passed 196
  result of 197, 201
  effect 292
Reform Bill, Second 352
Reform Bill of 1884 361
Reichsrath of Austria 398
Reichstadt, Duke of 162
Reichstag 338, 350
Reign of Terror mentioned 55
  begins 59
  at its height 73
  ended 80
Republic, Roman 107
Republic proclaimed in France . . . 46

PAGE.

Republic of 1870 252
" Republican marriages " 82
Revolution of 1820 in Spain 226
Revolutionary Tribunal 73, 79
attacked 81
Rewbell 92, 100
Richelieu 153
Riego, General 226
hanged 229
Right, the 31, 154
Rigsdag of Denmark 416
Riksdag, or Diet, of Sweden 412
Rivoli 98
Robespierre . . 16, 47, 48 *seq.*, 51, 67 *seq.*
his power . . . . . 70, 71 *seq.*
attacks Committee of Public Safety 75
appeals to Jacobins 77
guillotined 79
Rochefort 321, 324
Roger Ducos. See *Ducos.*
Roland 34
Roman Catholics, removal of disabilities in Ireland . . . . . 191 *seq.*
Rome becomes a republic 107, 282
Rossini, sketch of 311
Roumania placed under Russian protection 406
becomes independent 407
proclaimed a kingdom 409
Roumelia, Eastern, to be made an autonomous province 407
revolution in 408
attempted union with Bulgaria . . 408
Royalists massacred 45
insurrection of 88, 92
" white terror " 153
Royalty abolished 46
Rumania. See *Roumania.*
Rumelia. See *Roumelia.*
Russell, John, Lord, introduces Reform Bill 194
prime minister of England 352
Russia 106
insurrection in 365
war with Turkey 407
Russian campaign 130
insurrection 365

S.

Saarbrück, battle of 250
Sadowa, battle of 279

PAGE.

Sagasta, chief of Spanish Liberals . 396
St. Denis, Church of 67
Saint-Just 51, 71, 75, 78, 79
Saint-Simon, sketch of 308
Salisbury at Congress of Berlin . . . 356
Sand. See *Karl Sand.*
San Stefano, Peace of 407
rearranged by Berlin Congress . . 407
Saxe-Weimar, Duke of, introduces constitutional government in Germany 175
Saxon troops desert Napoleon 134
Saxony 138
Scharnhorst 136
Schleswig given to Prussia . . . 278, 279
Schleswig-Holstein Question, 275, 415 *seq.*
Sebastopol 302
Sedan, battle of 250
Second Reform Bill. See *Reform Bill.*
Sections explained . . . . . 50*n.*
appealed to 79
meetings restricted 81
defend Convention 85, 86
Senate of Third French Republic created 318
Senate recalls Louis XVIII as king . 147
increased power of 245
September massacres 45, 47
Serfs, Russian, liberated by Alexander 367
Serrano, Marshal, regent of Spain . 391
president 394
resigned 395
Servia becomes independent . . 407, 408
" Seven Weeks' War " 279
Sicily 139
revolution in 208
subdued 209
revolts against Naples 284
" Sick man " 301
" Siebener Concordat " 433
Sieyès 16, 92, 108
Coup d'état of . . . . . 109 *seq.*, 112
makes constitution 113
Simon, Jules 318
Slavery abolished 199
Socialist party in Belgium 422
Socialist party in Germany 341
Socialists under Louis Philippe's reign 167
Solferino, battle of 286

PAGE.

"Sonderbund" 433
South Africa. See *Boer Question.*
Staatenbund 433
Stanislaus, King of Poland, dies . . 373
States-General suggested 2
prepared for 4
promised 6
election prepared for 7
called 11
opened 13
Statute of 1834 232
Steam power, use of 292
Stein, Baron, prime minister of Prussia 136
Storthing, or Assembly of Norway, 412 *seq.*
struggle with king . . . . . 413 *seq.*
Suez Canal, shares in, purchased by England 358
Supreme Being, festival of . . . 71 *seq.*
Sweden joins combination against Napoleon 133
conquered by Russia 410
imposes "form of government" on king 410
Switzerland invaded by France . . . 106

T.

Talleyrand 16, 100, 103
French agent at Vienna . . . 138, 147
minister 151, 153
Tennis Court, oath in 15
Tenth of August 40
Terror. See *Reign of Terror.*
Test Act repealed 192
Theophilanthropie 95
Théot, Catherine 74
Thermidor 80
Thermidorians 80
Thessaly added to Greece 430
Thiers 157, 161
attacks Guizot's policy 168
sent on mission to European governments 253
head of executive power 255
negotiates peace 255
flees to Versailles 256
sketch of 307
"Head of Executive Power" . . . 315
makes peace with Germany 315
president of the Republic 316
resigns 317

PAGE.

Third Estate 8
definition of 10
Third Republic of France 313
Thomas, General, assassinated . . . 256
Thorwaldsen, sketch of 311
Three confessional laws 267
Three Estates, House of 184
Thun Hohenstein, Count, prime minister of Austria 401
Tilsit, Treaty of 123
Tolstoy, Count, Russian minister of education 369
dismissed 370
Tonquin, French protection over . . 323
Toulon 69
Trafalgar 122
Transvaal Republic. See *Boer Question.*
Treaty of Paris 406
Treaty of Prague 279
Tribunal. See *Revolutionary Tribunal.*
Triple Alliance, the 350, 385
Triumvirate 71
Tuileries captured 43
Tunis invaded by French 322
Turgot, French minister of finance . 4
Turkey 106
"Eastern Question" 405
Russian influence over, increased . 407
Russo-Turkish War 407
European Turkey, sketch of . . . 409
Tuscany lenient with revolutionists . 214
revolts 283
"Two Sicilies," Kingdom of the . . . 206

U.

Uitlanders 360
Ultra Party 153
United Diet 184
United States causes withdrawal of French troops from Mexico . . . 246

V.

Vendée. See *La Vendée.*
Vendémiaire, insurrection of 91
Venetia in revolutions of 1820 215
Venice 98
expels Austrians 283
retaken 284
transferred to Napoleon 291

PAGE.

Venice annexed to Italy 291
Verona, Congress of 227
appealed to by Greece 427
Veto first used by French king . . . 32
given to Ancients 89
Victor Emmanuel I returns from exile 211
liberal leaders and 211
abdicates 212
Victor Emmanuel II, King of Piedmont 283
his policy 383
Victor Emmanuel III succeeds Humbert 387
Victor Napoleon. See *Prince Victor*.
Victoria, Princess, succeeds William IV 181
succession falls to 190
queen 202
marries 297
proclaimed Empress of India . . . 356
reign of 362
Victory, Duke of. See *Espartero*.
organizer of. See *Carnot*.
Vienna, Congress. See *Congress of Vienna*.
Vienna, revolution in . . . . . 259 *seq.*
conquered 261
Villafranca, peace of 287
Vittoria 130
Vizier head of Turkish government . 409
"Voluntary contributions" 9

W.

Wagner, sketch of 310
Wagram, battle of 128
Wangenheim 176
War of Liberation 137
Warsaw, Grand Duchy of . . . 129, 364
established 374
Waterloo 150
Wellesley, Duke of Wellington. See *Wellington*.
Wellington, Duke of 126, 130
and the Irish Catholics 193
resigns 194
opposes Reform Bill 195

PAGE.

Wellington, Duke of, fails to form cabinet 196
and the Greeks 428
Westphalia 125
"White Terror," the 153
Wilberforce 200
Wilhelmina, Queen of Holland . . . 420
marries 420
William IV of England, king 193
William I (of the Netherlands), title given to stadtholder of the Dutch Republic 417
abdicates 419
William II (of the Netherlands) succeeds William I; died 420
William III (of the Netherlands) . . 420
becomes I of Prussia, prince regent 273
king 274
military system of 274
becomes Emperor of Germany . . 335
dies 342
William of Württemberg favors liberalism 176
yields to Metternich 177
Wilson 324
Windischgrätz, Prince, restores Hapsburg authority in Bohemia . . . 260
conquers Vienna . . . . . 260 *seq.*
against Hungarians 263
Workmen's insurance and industrial policy 343
World's Fair, first 300
Württemberg 138
receives constitution 175, 176
allies with Prussia 335

Y.

Young, Arthur, travels in France . 3, 11
"Young Italy" 219
Ypsilanti, Alexander, starts rebellion in Greece 425
murdered 426

Z.

Zemstvos 368
Zola efforts in favor of Dreyfus . . . 328
Zollverein 182

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